

# THE NONCONFORMIST.

*"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."*

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## ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

### THE FIRST STEP.

OUR plan for the organisation of dissenters, for the resuscitation of their dormant energies, and for the collection of their now scattered strength, is extremely simple. It makes no pretensions to novelty. It is in entire unison both with nonconforming principles and nonconforming practice. It consists in nothing more than the application of a power constantly recognised, and in all other departments uniformly employed. It is the consolidation of numerous individual authorities and influences, into a general and commanding one; a centralisation, for a brief period and for an especial object, of whatever there is of sound wisdom, of solid principle, and of real religion, amongst the various bodies of dissenters; the creation, not of a despotism, but of a parliament—a parliament chosen by the free suffrages of the parties concerned.

We submit to the consideration of dissenters whether there exists not amongst them sufficient zeal on behalf of their own principles to collect together an unpaid provisional committee of sufficient weight of character to make due arrangements for a general convocation. We shall suppose some such committee in existence. We shall give them ample time for the accomplishment of their sole business—viz. the bringing together a body of men, both ministers and laymen who shall fairly and fully represent the numerous churches of all denominations in the three kingdoms, who adopt the voluntary principle, and who are interested in bringing to a close the alliance at present subsisting between church and state. We shall suppose them to have fixed upon the place of conference, to have issued their invitations, and to have brought together for a few days an assembly whose discussions would awaken attention, whose decisions would command respect, and whose serious earnestness of purpose would put life and energy into any plan they might ultimately adopt. Thus much, at all events, is feasible, or if impracticable for dissenters, then they are the only body of men holding great truths, unable upon a special emergency to resort to, and to apply the principle of representation. We will not insult them by supposing this to be the case.

The solemn protest, after due deliberation, of such a body against the principle of a national religious establishment; a fearless, grave, but withal, charitable exposition of the evils perpetrated by a state church, and of the Christian principles which by its constitution it necessarily violates; a declaration of the duties in relation to it imposed upon dissenters; a free discussion of the various particulars in which our practices and habits have heretofore been faulty; an earnest recommendation of the subject to the conscientious attention of the members of our churches, rich as well as poor—pastors as well as people; and the adoption of measures by which, throughout the entire kingdom, there may hereafter be a simultaneous putting forth of strength for the accomplishment of our object—who can calculate what would be the effect which would result from this first step in the right direction?

We have to remedy in our own body, indifference and disorganisation. We have to re-assure the spirits and brace up the nerves of dissenters themselves. We have to lift up our principles out of that slough of contempt into which our own compromising conduct has unhappily dragged them down, and to place them for ever upon an eminence from which they will command the respect both of friend and foe. To accomplish these important ends, there appears to us to be but two powers adequate for the undertaking. We must have either the despotism of a single commanding intellect and resistless will, for which we must wait until providence sends us the man; or we must have the voluntary embodiment, by means of fair representation, of the wisdom and the virtue already existent among us. This latter being open to our own free choice, commends itself to our instant adoption.

Certain it is, that no isolated effort, however energetic—no mere topical activity, however useful in its own sphere, can avail to breathe life into the dissenting community. Daily habits of familiar intercourse with the tremendous evil of which we complain, have hardened the consciences of our own people against any individual appeals, truthful though they may be. The power which shall successfully put forth its hand to grapple with the apathy of the dissenting body, to shake it from its deep and guilty slumbers, and awaken it to the appalling magnitude of the interests at stake, must be a power whose supremacy none will be ashamed to admit, and before whose remonstrances mere worldly sophistries would not dare to stand. Representation can create that power; and the simple fact of calling in its aid to dispel the languor of modern dissent would go far, quite independently of its ulterior proceedings, to reach the end so greatly to be desired—just as an unusual effort, when nightmare oppresses us, to over-master the hideous monster of our sleeping thoughts, wakes us from the feverish dream, and the

phantasm is gone. A solemn and general stir, such as the calling of this conference supposes, made with a view to put an end to indifference, would necessarily, in the making of it, do much to realise its own object.

The same train of remark is obvious in reference to a combination of movement amongst dissenters. Plans hastily struck out by a little knot of individuals, and sent round to our churches for the simple registry of their approval, do little else than provoke contempt. Many such have been tried, and all of them have failed as miserably as they deserved. There is a sensitive jealousy on the part of our churches of officious and unauthorised interference with their proceedings, and of the assumption, by any individual or quorum of individuals, of a tone of dictation. Nor is this jealousy altogether without reason. The whole body of voluntaryists might else be a puppet in the hands of a few adventurers, who, for a courteous whisper or a condescending smile from the government of the day, might betray them all into a position of disgrace. But let our churches have their own fairly elected parliament; and if their recommendation did not possess the force of law, it would, at all events, carry with it a moral influence sufficiently powerful to command respectful deference. There would be no room for jealousy, no place for complaint, of presumptuous intermeddling; every man might bow without a consciousness of degradation to the decisions of an assembly in the formation of which himself has taken part.

Need we insist upon the influence which such a representative body would exert to rebuke interested cavilers on the one hand, and to draw out whatever sound principle exists on the other. Much of our inaction in the present day must be ascribed to the fact, that a zealous effort for the overthrow of a state church is matter for universal wonderment. He who solemnly enters upon the work becomes thenceforth a marked man; and the wider the sphere within which he proposes to act, the more general is the reproach which he must make up his mind to encounter. His detractors will be found chiefly amongst his own body. His motives will be misrepresented, his devotedness all but universally condemned. Scattered up and down amongst our numerous dissenting societies, there are thousands ready to work, but yet fearful to place themselves in a position of singularity. Even now they have earned for themselves a reputation for violence; and their single-handed attacks upon an overgrown establishment, unsustained by the good wishes and co-operation of the body, have done little else than drawn down upon themselves the persecutions of churchmen and the reproaches of dissenters. Give these men the moral influence of a representative assembly such as that we recommend, and they will come forth with renewed courage and with undaunted spirit on behalf of the principles which they love. Acting in unison with the decisions of a general body, their energy will become a valuable element in our cause. A useful action and re-action will thus be stimulated; and zeal no longer repressed by a surrounding atmosphere of indifference will kindle into a flame all the materials within its reach, and speedily bring up the whole body to a fervour of desire, and an intense earnestness of purpose, such as our state-church might well tremble to witness.

We think, moreover, that a solemn discussion of this question with its cognate topics, by a conference representing the whole body of dissenters, would at once dissipate foolish notions—which our dissenting ministers really know to be foolish, but which they regard themselves as under obligations to give some countenance to as both wise and religious. It would deliver them from a bondage of hypocrisy which must be terribly galling to their minds. Generally speaking they privately sympathise with every movement for the overthrow of a state church, but that sympathy they dare not openly avow. They are under the hard necessity of saying before mixed company damnable things of the very men with whom, under the table, they are proud to shake hands. Now, to take this question out of the region of mere politics, and to throw about it at once an air of religion—may we not rather say, to strip off from it the political vesture with which men of the world have clothed it, and to present it to the world in its spiritual simplicity, would be a great object gained; and this can only be done by some such arrangement as we here recommend. The worldly interest of dissenters has prompted them to put this in the list of subjects with which their ministers cannot contend without a forfeiture of clerical consistency, and nothing would avail to expose the delusion so powerfully as a general convention. There would be strength enough in such a body to place the whole matter upon its proper basis; and surely when corn law repeal has been taken up as a religious question by the dissenting clergy, no valid objection could be urged, at least by them, to the entertainment of a much graver, a much more spiritual subject—the separation of the church from the state.

One day last week a vestry was called in Leighton Buzzard church to consider the propriety of expending £1,400 in repairing the church. A compulsory rate was proposed, but was strongly objected to. So urgent were the voluntaries in their denunciations of compulsory measures, and so convincing their arguments, that the chairman was induced to propose a voluntary contribution, which he commenced himself. This liberality was met in the same spirit it was proposed, and before the assembly had left the church £1,200 was voluntarily subscribed towards the required sum.—*Aylesbury News*.

A church rate of a penny in the pound was carried at Brighton on Friday, by a majority of 72 to 53, in vestry. No poll was demanded.

The annual crusade for the enforcement of those iniquitous imposts, church rates, has been commenced in Yeovil, several persons having been summoned before the magistrates last Wednesday for non-payment thereof; and though the illegality of the rate is pleaded, which entirely takes it out of the jurisdiction of the magistrates, yet, so determined are they to enforce it, that distress warrants are about to be issued, and seizures will again be made. We have, in our time, had very considerable experience in making parochial rates; we have generally attended the vestry when such are to be granted; and we declare, and can prove, that during the time we have resided in Yeovil a legal church rate has never been made.—*Somerset County Gazette*.

On Sunday week, a new independent chapel was opened at Highgate, when sermons were preached by the Rev. Dr. Leitchfield and the Rev. C. Gilbert, of Barnsbury chapel, Islington; and when the latter was proceeding through the village, his eye was attracted by large printed placards, cautioning the public against going to the chapel! We need scarcely add, that there was no printer's name to the bill.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### WHITE EMIGRATION IN JAMAICA.

*To the Editor of the Nonconformist.*

SIR,—The deplorable condition of the unfortunate emigrants from Ireland, and likewise from this country, inveigled by false representations to emigrate to Jamaica, as represented by the Rev. W. Knibb at the recent anti-slavery meeting at Exeter Hall, it seems to us calls for immediate attention.

The conduct of Mr Knibb, and the humane efforts of Sir Charles Metcalfe on behalf of those wretched creatures are deserving of all praise; but to Irishmen in an especial manner, the prompt and efficacious exertions of Mr Knibb are entitled to the highest gratitude.

His proposal for the immediate removal of the miserable remnant of these emigrants should be carried into execution without loss of time. We therefore, from the extreme urgency of the case, suggest to our friends both in England and Ireland, that an immediate subscription be entered into for the purpose of accomplishing this object, at the same time, we would urge on the committees of the British and Foreign, and the Hibernian Anti-slavery societies, the importance of memorialising government to give active assistance to the proposed measure for removing the suffering from a scheme which is deeply stained with the guilt of blood.

One of us, from actual experience in the West Indies, being practically acquainted with the evils of this system of European emigration, and the other from the fullest knowledge of the mischief attendant on it at home, think ourselves especially called on to take active and immediate steps for effecting the proposed removal of these unfortunate people. We propose for this purpose that subscriptions be received by Mr Joseph Soul, at 27, New Broad street, London; Mr Joseph Sturge, Birmingham; the Rev. William Bevan, Liverpool; Mr John Dunlop, Edinburgh; Mr W. Smith, Glasgow; Mr Joseph Eaton, Bristol; and by ourselves in Dublin.

We are respectfully, &c. &c.,  
R. R. MADDEN,  
RICHARD ALLEN.

London, May 17, 1842.

### IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

##### PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Cattle, against importation of, 5.	Poor Law Amendment Act, for alteration, 5.
Commercial reforms, against, 3.	
Corn laws, for repeal of, 12.	
Factories, for limiting the hours of labour, 2.	
Hill Coolies, against exportation of, 1.	
Lord's day, for better observance of, 5.	
Marriages (Ireland), for making valid, 2.	
	Property tax, against, 6.
	Roman catholics, for equalisation of civil rights, 9.
	Timber duties, against alteration of, 1.
	Union with Ireland, for repeal of, 3.
	Universal suffrage, for, 2.

##### PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILLS PRESENTED, AND READ A FIRST TIME.		
1. Sudbury Disfranchisement bill.	2. Poor Law Amendment bill.	
		CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.
1. Roasted Malt bill.		3. Parish Constables bill.
2. Customs Duties bill.		

BILL READ A THIRD TIME, AND PASSED.		
Ecclesiastical Residences bill.		

##### DEBATES.

Tuesday, May 10.

##### THE NEW TARIFF.

Sir R. PEEL rose to make his general statement on the tariff, previous to the House going into committee on the subject. After introductory observations, he proceeded to the subject of the change in the customs acts, and its influence on commerce and trade, involved in the tariff. It was well known that great alterations had at different times taken place in our customs, and parliament had repeatedly considered the subject. He was decidedly of opinion that the new tariff proposed by the government would, if adopted by the legislature, have the effect of producing a considerable reduction in the cost of living in this country.

If there be any truth in the principles either of trade or of arithmetic, I contend that the inevitable effect must be to give great advantages to all classes of consumers, and to make considerable reductions in the present price of living in this country, as compared with the price of living in other countries. Taking the reductions on raw materials, on half-manufactured goods, and on manufactured goods, I am persuaded that the general result will be to make a considerable saving in the expenses of every family in the kingdom.

Thus the proposed reductions on the importation of clover, onion, and other seeds, would be beneficial to agriculture; on mahogany and other foreign woods for making furniture, the reduction of duty would be beneficial to the community at large; and the reductions on ores and metals, as on smelted copper, would have a powerful influence on our steam and other mercantile navy, in lowering the cost of production, and enabling us to compete with foreign ship builders. So also

that department of the tariff which related to oils would be of great advantage to our commerce; as spermaceti oil, the price of which some time ago rose so high in this country as to compel those who used it for machinery and other purposes to use inferior vegetable oils. He then went to articles of foreign manufacture.

We propose, generally speaking, to apply an amount of duty not exceeding 20 per cent. to articles of foreign manufacture. There may be particular exceptions; but, as I have before stated, the exceptions will be found to be in favour, where favour is shown at all, of the weak and unprotected interests. But the general rule is, that 20 per cent shall be the maximum of duty imposed on articles of foreign manufacture.

At present there was no consistent rule on this head. It had been objected that, by making this reduction the government had begun at the wrong end, and that the duties on articles of food ought to be first reduced. His answer was, that they had reduced, in very material degree, the cost of the necessities of life. Take the article of corn.

The duty paid under the new law on the importation of foreign wheat is at this moment 38s.; whereas if it had to be collected under the old law it would amount to 57s. This must be considered a very material reduction; and if any man will compare the duty this day payable upon the import of foreign oats, foreign barley, and foreign wheat, with what would have been paid if the old law had been in force, must at least admit that in respect to these articles there had been a very great reduction indeed.

He referred in like manner to meat, lard, hams, fish, vegetables, rice and hops. These statements were proof that the proposed changes of the tariff would materially affect the cost of articles of subsistence. But, independent of this, these high duties on the importation of foreign articles were a mere delusion, and afforded no real protection to the home producer. In proof of this, he read "a bona fide letter from a smuggler," a man of large means, who carried on a thriving business in defiance of the custom house. He also exhibited a roll of straw, the "raw material," on which only a penny per cwt. of duty was levied; but then he extracted from the roll a smaller coil of manufactured straw plat, on which a duty of seventeen shillings was levied, and which, in this way, was largely smuggled, to the injury of the home manufacturer. Passing from these matters of detail, Sir Robert proceeded to vindicate the tariff generally on the higher ground of justice and national interest. He alluded to the unnecessary alarms which had been excited amongst the agricultural interest with respect to the effect which the importation of foreign cattle would produce.

I know that there has been a general apprehension, and, indeed, a general panic, on the subject of the importation of live cattle. It has been constantly represented to me that the panic existed, and that it was in vain to argue against it, whether well or ill founded—to so prevailing a feeling a deference ought to be shown. I venture to differ from that statement. I do not think it a part of the duty of any government to defer to a panic which they consider unfounded; much less do I consider it consistent on the part of the real friend of the agricultural interest of this country to show a deference to unjustifiable apprehensions. To defer to sound argument—to defer to justifiable apprehensions—is the duty of every government; but to concede to a panic which you believe to be ill founded would be inconsistent with a wise and statesman-like course, and would be inviting persons who were the subjects of those unfounded fears to rest their hopes upon high prohibitory duties, which would indeed be resting upon an unstable foundation.

He did not mean to say that there would be no reduction in the price of cattle. Such a reduction was demanded when the gradually rising prices which prevailed in this country were regarded, compared with a population increasing faster than the means of supply. But viewing the continental area from which cattle could be imported, compared with the demand, there was no ground for alarm; nay, an importation of lean cattle would be absolutely beneficial to the English grazier, while various statements were produced to show that the expectation of a large importation of fat cattle was delusive. Indeed, he did not despair of seeing this country an exporting one, through the more improved application of its capital and skill. Looking at all the measures of the government, including the new corn law, he considered that they had proceeded as far in the promotion of just principles, as was consistent with the public good, without injury to individual interests, or even with the safe advancement of these principles themselves; and expressed his deep regret that other enlightened nations had not imitated the example now set by the English government, of repairing commercial and financial embarrassments by lowering duties on importation. That example, however, would have its influence in due season; and, meantime, this country would reap the fruits of its present policy in the immediate advantage which would follow of its adoption.

A conversation followed, in which Mr LABOUCHERE and Mr HUME expressed their approval of the plan; and on the House going into committee, Major VIVIAN moved for the production of details or passages in the report of Mr Meek to the government, which he considered to have been suppressed. Lord WORSTLEY supported the motion, but Mr GLADSTONE thought that a power of selection must always be left with a government in these matters. In the present instance there were no omissions of any importance. After a short debate, in which Lord J. RUSSELL, Sir R. PEEL, Mr SHEIL, and Lord STANLEY took part, the motion was negatived by 219 to 152.

Wednesday, May 11.

##### POOR LAW COMMISSION CONTINUANCE BILL.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM moved for leave to bring in this bill. He adverted to the statutes preceding the present law, and to the practice which arose under them of making up wages out of rates. Earl Grey's government met that evil by the now subsisting act, which was founded on the report of a committee, and was permanent in all its provisions, except the authority for regulating the administration of the system. The commission had since been prolonged by act of parliament until the 31st of July next: and the government now intended to propose that it should be further continued for five years from that day and until the end of the session succeeding. In support of the principle of the commission he quoted Lord Brougham and the Duke of Wellington. He then detailed the alterations to be made, of which the following is a summary.

The continuance of the poor-law commission for five years. This continuance was proposed from a perfect conviction of the utility of the commission, as derived from the experience of its working, and the necessity of the commission, to the effectual working out the law. As a pendant to the continuance of the poor-law commission, the number of assistant commissioners is to be limited to nine; the work for them being now less laborious and less exigent than at first. Next to the continuance of the poor-law commission comes the abolition, expressly and entirely, of the Gilbert unions. In addition to these great characteristics of the bill, there are some amendments to be introduced into the law. Union district schools for pauper children are to be limited to a circle of fifteen miles each, and these schools are to be under the superintendence of the educational committee of the privy council. Casual poor are to be chargeable on the respective unions, and not on the individual parishes where they may happen to have been relieved. In bastardy cases the father of a chargeable child may be imprisoned for three months, if he has no goods to be taken in execution. The law of settlement is to be modified, by which sick poor may be relieved in parishes where they may happen to be resident. Parish apprentices are to have protective regulations, and local acts are not to be interfered with.

With respect to the Gilbert unions, they were few in number; they were in scattered localities; they interfered with the harmonious working of the poor-law; and the principle which was their leading characteristic was diametrically opposed to the characterising principle of the Poor-law Amendment act. In the Gilbert unions, it was incumbent to provide all able-bodied applicants with relief; while in the Poor-law Amendment act unions it was the aged, the sick, and the destitute who were to be provided for. It was a great mistake to suppose, that under the Poor-law Amendment act there was a rigid prohibition of out-door relief. The very rule itself, under which relief was administered, furnished no less than seven exceptions, by which boards of guardians, without any reference to the commissioners, could give out-door relief. From the forthcoming annual report of the poor-law commission, it appeared that during the last year upwards of a million of individuals received relief, of whom only 159,000 were relieved in workhouses. These were the main outlines of the bill; and he assured the House he would not have undertaken the responsibility of it, had he not been persuaded that it would conduce, not only to the comfort of the sick, aged, and infirm, but to the advancement of honest industry and the increase of its just remuneration.

Mr T. DUNCOMBE, Mr WAKLEY, Mr S. CRAWFORD, Captain PECHELL, Mr BORTHWICK and others declared their hostility to the measure; and Mr F. MAULE, Mr S. WORTLEY, and others their approval. Leave was then given to bring in the bill, which was shortly after read a first time.

After some other business, including a notice from Mr CHARLES BULLER, that he will present a petition from Mr Warburton, praying for inquiry into the circumstances attending the last Bridport election, the House adjourned.

*Friday, May 13.*

#### ELECTION COMPROMISES.

Mr ROEBUCK moved to nominate the committee for inquiring into the recent compromises of elections.

Some conversation arose respecting the names of some of the members proposed; and a discussion took place whether a given number of members should constitute a quorum, or whether every member should be bound to attend constantly. The house appeared to expect that members would observe the latter course.

Mr T. DUNCOMBE then rose to move the following resolution:—

"That each member appointed to serve on the Select committee on Compromises of Election petitions shall subscribe the following declaration in the presence of Mr. Speaker:—'I, \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly declare, that I never, directly or indirectly, have, to my knowledge, been guilty, by myself or agents, of any act of bribery, treating, or other corruption, in procuring a seat in Parliament; that I never paid, or promised to pay, intend to pay, or sanctioned the payment of any sum or sums of money, beyond the legal charge of producing my return for my last or any previous election; nor have I, at any time, connived at, been privy to, or assisted in, any bribery, treating, or any other corrupt practice for the purpose of returning any member or members to serve in Parliament.'

Signed, \_\_\_\_\_."

That individuals should be condemned by a committee of men notoriously as guilty as themselves, would not be satisfactory. Corrupt practices had been common with a large majority of the House; he had himself, both at Pomfret and at Hertford, spent large sums in bribery.

He did not intend that so vital a question should be snugly sent to a private committee-room upstairs, where personal feelings and party objects might have full play. He wished for an inquiry at the bar of that house, in the face of open day and before the whole public [cheers]; and he must say that the opinion of the public with regard to all the recent transactions of that House, and especially in reference to their conduct last week, was that of unmitigated disgust at the hypocrisy and injustice of the House. The public knew that they were about to prosecute five or six individuals, when they were aware that there were six hundred equally guilty.

Mr ROEBUCK denounced, in very strong language, Mr Duncombe's avowals of corruption. The argument that the whole House was corrupt might do very well to raise a laugh, but it would not be admitted in the country as a satisfactory bar to the investigation of a specific charge. He believed that there was a general desire to get rid of the existing evil, and that this inquiry would lead to some useful legislation for that purpose.

After a short, but somewhat personal discussion, Mr Duncombe's motion was negatived by 160 to 17, and the committee was appointed.

#### BRIDPORT ELECTION.

Mr CHARLES BULLER presented a petition from Mr Henry Warburton, making a statement respecting the compromise for one of the seats for Bridport. Mr Warburton represented, that when he first stood for Bridport, in 1826, it was the custom for the successful candidate to give £10 to each voter; and the sum thus spent amounted to £2,000. He had acted on that understanding at each election. After the Reform bill, it was resolved in the borough to discontinue the practice; but a reservation of indulgence was made in favour of the poorer electors; and the payments since that time amounted to £1,500 or £1,700, including £100 for dinners and £490 for processions. At the last general election, bribery did take place under the direction of Mr Mitchell or his agents, without the cognizance of Mr Warburton; yet without any interference of his own, he became mixed up in transactions which compromised his seat; his agent having paid a sum of money to Mr Hutchinson, one of Mr Mitchell's agents. In justice Mr Mitchell ought to have resigned; but Mr Warburton intimated to Mr Cochrane, their unsuccessful antagonist, that if Mr Mitchell did not resign within the fourteen days allowed for the presentation of the petition against their return, he would; and Mr Mitchell showing no such disposition, Mr Warburton actually did accept the Chiltern Hundreds. Mr BULLER moved that the petition be printed with the votes; and intimated his intention of drawing attention to it on the first opportunity after Whitsuntide.

#### THE TARIFF.

On the House going into committee on the Customs Duties Lord HOWICK rose to move:—

"That in making a new arrangement of the customs duties it is not expedient to impose different rates of duty upon the same articles when imported from foreign countries or from British possessions, in any case where no such difference now exists; and that in those cases in which such a difference already exists, it is not expedient that it should be increased."

He believed the main arguments of those who maintained the system of differential duties were, that a distinction existed between duties for protection and duties for revenue, and that it was reasonable to give our own colonies an advantage over foreign nations not admitting our goods. On the first point his answer was, that all duties ought to be for revenue, and not for protection; and on the second point, he would refer to the observation of Sir R. Peel himself, in his speech of

last Tuesday, that the refusal of other nations to receive our goods was no reason for our punishing ourselves. What was called a protection, was in truth a great injury to our colonies. Colonial capital should be left to flow in its own natural channels, and not diverted into artificial ones, more especially as there was now no want of natural employment for that capital. He believed that much benefit would accrue from the relaxations already announced; he only regretted that their principle had not been carried out to its full extent.

Mr GLADSTONE said that government would have no reluctance in adopting the suggestions of the noble lord, if they could think them likely to benefit the country; but they thought he had misapprehended the whole bearing of the arrangements, especially the effect of the alterations in the custom's duties, with regard to foreign and colonial produce.

There were now 131 differences of duty in favour of colonial productions. Of these existing differential duties it was proposed to effect a reduction in 98 cases; in no instance, however, was that reduction to be effected by raising the duty on the article proceeding from the colonies, but in every instance, let the House remark, it was to be brought about by lowering the rate of duty on the article proceeding from foreign countries. In four cases, into which he need not enter at present, but one of which was tobacco, the differential principle was to be abolished. In 21 other cases the rates would remain unchanged—sugar and spirits, as the House was aware, being the principal commodities which would remain subject to the existing rates of duty. Eight cases remained, and in these cases the differential duties between the articles was to be increased, and he would very briefly state why that arrangement was proposed to be made. Four of the cases, indeed, those of Brazzilwood, ebony, wrought copper, and pitch, he might dismiss without comment, as there was a very trifling import of any of them. The 4 remaining cases, however, or at least 3 of them—isinglass, silk goods, and tallow, were more important. Now, the principle of proceeding in these instances was, that they would reserve the consideration of the alteration of the duties levied upon so much of these articles as were imported from foreign countries in consequence of the present state of our relations with those countries.

He went through various other particulars; and dwelt upon the general importance of the trade with the colonies, and the great anxiety of the trading community to retain that market. He admitted that in some respects that market had cost the country somewhat dear; but it had by no means been universally a disadvantageous one. He protested against the suggestion of any title on the part of foreign nations to interfere about the extent of remission which England might think fit to bestow upon the distant members of her own empire.

Mr C. WOOD supported Lord Howick's motion, and Lord STANLEY opposed it, observing that the colonies were entitled to some advantages over foreign countries, so long as the mother country should continue to impose on those colonies her own taxes and her own restrictions.

Mr BARING supported the motion, and went into the various items of the tariff in detail.

Sir R. PEEL wished to debate the general principle. Lord Howick's theory was that the colonies should be placed upon the footing of foreign states, but it was a theory which cut away the whole connexion between the colonies and the mother country.

By an act now before parliament, it was proposed to admit British manufactured goods on advantageous terms—for why otherwise should we be at the expense of maintaining colonies?—but on what principle of justice could we expect the colonists to submit to such an arrangement if we afforded them no advantage in the admission of their produce? If Great Britain gave their produce no preference, why should we hold ourselves entitled to force our manufactures upon them? Is the noble lord prepared to do away with the use of British manufactures in British colonies? If so, then he ought to be prepared to show the utility of maintaining colonies. He tells us that we should buy in the cheapest markets—that we should show no preference for colonial produce—that if we charged 30 per cent. on the goods of Russia or France, we should charge the same on the produce of our own colonies. Then, if this be a sound and wise policy, I again ask why incur the expense and anxiety of keeping colonies? Hon. members have more than once called our attention to the great increase of our trade with the United States since the period when their independence was established; but does it follow that the trade was equally profitable before that period and subsequent to it? and if those doctrines rest upon sound principles, I profess myself unable to comprehend why we should not abandon Canada, instead of sending 15,000 men to keep possession of it. Following out the views of the noble lord, we ought to let the colonies govern themselves, declare their separate existence, and clear away the whole connexion.

If it was intended to canvass each article of this tariff in detail, and to put government upon proof of the reason for fixing 6d. here, and 9d. there, he avowed that into that sort of minute scrutiny it was impossible for him to enter. He had understood that the subject was to be treated as a great whole; that was the true way of treating it; and in that spirit he would still hope that it would be treated. So treating it, he was bound to say, that on Lord Howick's principle, there would be an end to the colonial empire of Great Britain.

Mr VILLIERS contended that there was not the slightest difference in principle between the differential duties in the colonies and the monopolies at home.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL regarded the answers given to this motion as altogether beside the question. He agreed in the principles laid down on Tuesday by Sir R. Peel; but those principles were quite at variance with the reasonings advanced to night.

The House then divided, when there appeared; against Lord Howick's motion, 281; for it, 108; majority, 173.

The House proceeded to dispose of the other business upon the paper, among which was a notice by Mr Roebuck of a motion for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify the witnesses who may be called on to give evidence before the committee on compromises. The hon. member, however, upon being called on by the SPEAKER, was found to have left the house. The House then adjourned until Friday next.

#### GENERAL POLITICS.

##### FOREIGN.

###### FRANCE.

The Paris journals are much occupied with Sir Robert Peel's new tariff, and, generally speaking, condemn it. The Sugar bill was discussed on Monday in the Chamber of Deputies; and the budget will occupy the remainder of the session, which is expected to close in a fortnight. The dissolution is expected to take place in July, and the general election in August. The Railroad bill, after debates lasting seventeen days, has passed the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 255 over 83.

###### PORUGAL.

Lisbon news has arrived to the 9th instant. A commission of six members had been appointed by the Portuguese government to consider the question of reductions in the tariff. It was believed that the difficulties in the way of signing the slave-trade treaty had been overcome, and that the latter would be signed, as well as the commercial

treaty, in the course of the week, should the answer of the English government to the proposition made ultimately to it have arrived in time. A large wine house had failed at Oporto, having 1900 pipes of wine on hand. Time, however, was all that was asked. A decree had been issued, ordering that in future an English sovereign should pass in Madeira for 4800 reis; an American eagle for 10 milreis, and the dollar for 1000 reis. Senhor J. da Silva Carvalho had declared himself a strong partisan of the government, and been elected, with Costa Cabral, as delegates for the parish of St Isabel to the electoral college of Lisbon. The Queen had agreed to the list of peers, twenty-eight in number, submitted by the government, among whom are men of all shades of opinion, but the majority chartists and supporters of the government.

#### THE LEVANT.

News has arrived to the 27th ult. The Divan continued to be still almost exclusively occupied with the Syrian question. On the 17th Selim Bey sailed for Beyrouth, with instructions to inquire into the real state of affairs in the Lebanon, and adopt, in concert with Mustapha Pasha, the measures best calculated to conciliate the interests of all parties. On the 23rd, a note was presented by the Russian Ambassador to the Reis Effendi, in which his government remonstrated against the policy pursued by the Porte towards Syria, and especially against its refusal to recall Omar Pasha from the Lebanon. The differences existing between Turkey and Greece do not appear to have been yet entirely settled. On the 25th the Divan held a grand council, at which the preliminaries of a definitive arrangement were agreed upon, and the activity displayed by the Porte on this occasion induced a belief that the affair would be speedily and satisfactorily terminated.

#### AMERICA.

The Great Western brings intelligence from New York to the 28th. Public feeling was becoming much more pacific in the United States. Not only upon the north-eastern boundary question, but also upon the "right of search," matters appear in a fair way of satisfactory arrangement. The proceedings in congress continue to be without interest to the foreign reader. The Appropriation bill was under discussion in the House of Representatives. The Washington correspondence of the New York Journals is still barren of authentic intelligence relative to the negotiation between the English minister and the United States government.

Since the above the Britannia has arrived at Liverpool, having made the passage from Halifax in ten days. The papers brought by this vessel are four days later than those by the Great Western. They contain a long report by the Hon. Caleb Cushing, from the committee of foreign affairs in the House of Representatives, on the commercial relations existing between the United States and the colonial possessions of Great Britain, in the West Indies and on the continent of America. An outline of this important document will appear in our next; the crowded state of our columns precluding us from giving it this week.

#### DOMESTIC.

##### METROPOLITAN.

At the court of common council last week reports were presented on the Royal Exchange and the great City improvements: the material point of public interest was, that 25,000*l.* is to be raised at once for the continuance of New Farringdon street. A very long report was presented from the committee on the office of town clerk.

At the last special court of East India proprietors, Mr Montgomery Martin, after a long speech, in which he approved of the new tariff, but contended that more favour should be shown to India, moved a resolution, that the court should petition parliament, in the revision of the tariff, to place England and British India on a footing of complete reciprocity, treating the latter as an integral portion of the empire. Several letters were read, urging alterations in the laws relating to Indian commerce, and especially calling for encouragement of Assam tea. After a long conversation, Mr Martin withdrew his resolution, and carried another, simply expressing concurrence in the representations made in that correspondence.

On Tuesday last there was a meeting held at the Queen's Head, Poultry, of the Abney Park Cemetery proprietors. Alderman Kelly, presided. The report was very satisfactory, and it is evident that the advantages of public cemeteries are becoming more apparent.

The trial of Daniel Good for the Roehampton murder took place at the Central Criminal court on Friday last. The court was crowded to excess. There were numerous counts in the indictment to meet every possible circumstance of the case. Lord Denman presided at the trial, and summed up the evidence with much clearness. The jury, after half an hour's absence, returned a verdict of Guilty, and his Lordship passed sentence of death upon him. As soon as he had finished, the prisoner addressed the court, protesting his innocence, and affirming that the woman destroyed herself by cutting her throat with a penknife.

#### PROVINCIAL.

The following is the petition alluded to in the report of the proceedings of the Complete Suffrage union, given in our last:—

" TO THE LORDS IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

" The Petition of the Provisional Council of the 'National Complete Suffrage Union.' Dated the 15th day of April, 1842.

" Respectfully sheweth—That, in the opinion of your petitioners, every member of society has an equal right with every other member to have a voice in the making of the laws which he is called on to obey.

" That this just principle has already been recognised in the British constitution; for by various ancient statutes it is provided that 'no person be compelled to pay any tax or make any loan to the king, against his will'; and by a statute of King Edward the Third it is declared that such 'loans are against reason and the franchise of the land.' These enactments are confirmed and expounded by the celebrated Petition of Right, which provides that 'no man be compelled to make or yield any gift or tax without common consent by act of parliament.'

" That this principle is further sanctioned by the dictates of that holy religion, which teaches men to do to others as they would that others should do unto them.

" That in recognising the inherent and inalienable right of suffrage, only such limitations or restrictions should be allowed, as naturally arise out of the right itself, are equally applicable to all classes of the community, and as are necessary to its practical exercise.

" That, therefore, your petitioners after due deliberation have arrived at the conclusion, that the elective franchise ought to be extended to every man of 21 years of age, who is not deprived of his rights of citizenship, in consequence of the verdict of a jury of his countrymen.

" That a false principle of representation—namely, that of property and not persons having been acted on for a great length of time in this country, many abuses have thereby arisen, and been perpetuated; and that as the removal of these abuses is necessary in order to render complete suffrage, as defined in the preceding propositions, practically beneficial, your petitioners submit the details embodied in the following statement as means for rendering the representation of the people, on the fundamental principles already declared, full, fair, and free.

" Your petitioners are of opinion that every man ought to be able and willing to give an open and conscientious vote; yet that, under the present circumstances of the country, and with the general prevalence of bribery and intimidation, the system of voting by ballot should be adopted, in order effectually to secure the free exercise of the suffrage, which freedom is mentioned by acts of parliament, which have repeatedly declared [although the declaration is continually violated] that 'elections ought to be free.'

" That, for the purpose of securing a fair and equal representation of the people, it is necessary that the whole country should be divided into districts, each containing, as nearly as may be, an equal number of electors.

" That in order to carry out the principle of freedom in elections, all men chosen by a majority of votes ought to be eligible to be members of parliament, without respect to the possession of property.

" That all legal election expenses, and a reasonable remuneration to members of parliament for their services, ought to be borne at the public expense.

" That it is of great importance to secure and maintain the responsibility of members to their constituents; and your petitioners are of opinion that annual parliaments are a proper means for securing this object.

" May it therefore please the Lords to take these premises into their deliberate consideration, and adopt such measures as shall secure a full, fair, and free representation of the people, according to the fundamental principles hereinbefore stated.

" Your petitioners, in conclusion, would express their heartfelt prayer that Almighty God may direct your counsels for the happiness of the nation, the welfare of mankind in general, and for his own glory.

" Signed in the name and on behalf of the council.  
(Copy) " JOSEPH STURGE, President."

On Tuesday, May 10, the Rev. B. Parsons delivered a lecture on complete suffrage, at Nailsworth, in the borough of Stroud. The room was full, and the sentiments advanced were cordially received by the people. The adoption of the six points of the charter gives general satisfaction, and will effect a union between the middle and working classes in that neighbourhood.

The disgraceful proceedings brought to light by Mr Roebuck, in connection with the late election for Nottingham, has roused the indignation of the virtuous and independent portion of the electors. The sincere reformers, radicals, and chartists, will not allow themselves to be handed over to the tender mercies of toryism in the person of Mr Walter. Great activity is manifested on behalf of Joseph Sturge, the candidate of the liberals. The address of Joseph Sturge to the electors has given great satisfaction; and the walls are already covered with bills—"Sturge and Purity," "Sturge and Complete Suffrage," "Sturge and Peace," "Sturge and Free Trade," "Sturge and No Church Rates," "Sturge and the Brotherhood of Man," meet the eye in all directions. The chartists who assisted formerly in the return of Walter, that they might destroy the whigs, are equally energetic in their support of Joseph Sturge. On Thursday night Mr H. Vincent arrived from Bath to aid the liberal party. Mr Sturge's committee immediately convened a public meeting, which was held last night in front of the committee room. At eight o'clock an immense concourse of people assembled, and the committee room was filled with the friends of the candidate. Mr Thomas Beggs introduced Mr Vincent, who addressed the meeting at great length in support of Mr Sturge. Mr Vincent entered into an exposition of the wrongs of the people, and pourtrayed the excellency of Mr Sturge's character and principles. A deep impression was made upon the meeting. Mr Sturge's return is considered certain. Mr Vincent will address ward meetings during next week. Joseph Sturge will arrive on Wednesday.—*Sun.*

A large meeting of the inhabitants of Wakefield was held on Thursday last, to present an address to Joseph Holdsworth, Esq., the late member for the borough, who has recently been deprived of his seat in parliament by the decision of an election committee of the House of Commons; and to call upon his successor, the Hon. W. Sebright Lascelles, to resign his seat.

The following is the report of the council to the special general meeting of the National Anti-corn-law League, held May 11, 1842:—

" The circumstances which have induced the council to convene this special meeting of the members of the league, and which they trust you will consider fully justificatory of such course, may be very briefly stated.

" Subsequently to the adjournment of your delegates assembled in the metropolis, millions of bread eaters have again petitioned the legislature for justice, and have been cruelly answered by the re-enactment of an iniquitous bread tax.

" Each succeeding day of the intervening period has but aggravated the disastrous effects produced by monopoly upon the commercial and trading interests of our country, and the privation and misery inflicted upon the great body of the people, as it were in fulfilment of all your previous predictions.

" Convinced that there can be no great and permanent improvement in the condition of our industrial population, so long as the necessities of life shall continue to be taxed, and considering the re-imposition of a bread tax by the legislative landowners as a reckless refusal of the just claims of outraged humanity, your executive council have felt it to be their duty to advise with you, as their constituents, on the course of action which, under existing circumstances, it may best befit the league to pursue in the further prosecution of their legal and righteous purpose.

" Not perceiving in the present aspect of affairs any reason for doubting the final issue of their labours, and regarding the blind infatuation of a monopolist legislature as the best guarantee of an eventual, and the most significant assurance of an early triumph, your council take leave respectfully to observe that, as the league is banded together for the working out of a great and vital principle, there can be no halting on its onward course without grievous dishonour and irretrievable disgrace.

" Seeing no present necessity for occupying your valuable time with any detailed recurrence to past efforts, or with evidence of the signal effect of those efforts upon the great political parties in the state, or upon the general intelligence and right feeling of the people, the executive advisedly abstain from such gratification; but, impressed with a deep sense of their duty, at this unprecedented period of national embarrassment and individual suffering, the executive council invite your earnest consideration of a scheme for the future operations of the league which, after bestowing upon it their most serious and anxious attention, they beg to submit for your approval and confirmation.

" Your council believe that to hold out further encouragement of popular hope from petitioning the monopolists, who, in the arbitrament of their own cause, have scorned the oft-preferred prayers of famishing millions, were cruelly to trifle with the outraged feelings of the people, by fostering a miserable delusion, and sanctioning the performance of a legislative farce, pending the enactment of a national tragedy.

" With what reluctance your executive have arrived at this conclusion may be deduced from their unremitting exertions, for nearly four years, to direct the just discontent of their starving masses into the constitutional channel of parliamentary appeal.

" Happily there is other outlet to national complaint, and other and better hope of national redress. The prayers of the oppressed and despised millions should now be addressed to the Sovereign on the throne, as the last pivot for the leverage of hope to a much-plundered, greatly-suffering, and long-enduring community.

" That these appeals to our beloved Queen may be most worthy her beneficent attention, and most conducive to the success of our labours, because best calculated to set all opposition at defiance, it would seem imperatively necessary that the league should greatly extend its efforts to enlighten all classes upon the momentous subject

on which hinge not merely the usurpations of a landocracy, and the happiness or misery of a nation, but the honour of our Sovereign and the stability of her throne. The voice of truth must be made to penetrate the darkest recesses of error and ignorance; the demand for justice must be shown to be reasonable throughout the thousand serfdoms of the monopolist oppressor; the requirements of religion must be proclaimed among the huts and hovels of the miserable peasantry, and the stately domes of collegiate and episcopal bread-taxers; in short, the empire must be traversed by your agents, through all its sinuosities and to all its extremities, that the public mind may be excited to a full comprehension of this all-important question, and led to a due appreciation of that free trade in food and fair play for industry, by which alone the lives of perishing millions may be preserved, and national insolvency, beggary, and anarchy be averted.

"To this end, your executive have caused that portion of the United Kingdom comprising England and Wales, to be mapped into twelve districts (and they are extending such plan to Scotland and Ireland), that the accredited lecturers of the league may be located in these several divisions of the empire, charged with the special duties of the instruction of the people; the organisation of every borough, town, village, parish, and hamlet in the counties assigned to them; and the enrolment of every lover of justice as a member of the league.

"The council is not unaware of the very heavy expense with which this national effort will charge the funds within its control; but, thanks to the Christian zeal of its best allies, the fair philanthropists of the empire, it has thousands at its command for the vindication of the honour of God by the furtherance of the happiness of man.

"And, now that such object of the league is freed from all suspicion of factious or other sinister purposes,—now that, by years of faithfulness to its principle, the league has approved itself the honest and earnest champion of a good and a holy cause, the executive council cannot, for a single moment, entertain the remotest doubt of that national support, which shall enable them, unceasingly and effectively, to war against the oppressor of the poor, until the right of ALL, freely to participate in the bounties of our common Creator, shall have been fully recognised and firmly secured.

By order of the Council,

GEORGE WILSON, Chairman.

A lecture on the evils of war, was delivered in the British school, Stratford, Essex, on Tuesday evening the 12th inst, by Mr Ebenezer Clarke, to a respectable and attentive audience. The lecturer took a rapid glance of the causes and effects of this direful plague of the human race. The moral and political evils which result from the cruel game of war. The inconsistency of it with the principles and maxims of the New Testament. At the close of the lecture, thanks were voted to Mr Clarke, and also to Mr John Palmer, of Plaistow, who presided on the occasion.

The British association will hold their twelfth annual meeting this year at Manchester, to commence on Thursday, June 23. Every preparation is being made to give the members a liberal reception, and the arrangements for the meetings and exhibitions are on a large scale.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, May 18.

#### THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

Yesterday, the committee for general purposes met at their room in Waterloo street, Birmingham, for the transaction of business. At half-past 10 o'clock, Joseph Sturge, Esq. took his seat, as president of the Union.

Mr MORGAN read the following regulations for the guidance of lecturers, which were adopted.

"1. That in order to promulgate the objects, and promote the organisation of the National Complete Suffrage Union throughout the United Kingdom, it is necessary that the services of several missionaries and voluntary local lecturers be obtained.

"2. That all persons tendering their services as missionaries, must make application to the Secretary of the Union, must be approved of by the council, and must sign the instructions given them.

"3. That all persons wishing to be appointed lecturers in their own locality, must be nominated in writing under the signatures of at least twenty members of the Union, and must be approved of by the council.

"4. That the services of the missionary be gratuitous; but that he be paid his traveling expenses, a correct account of which he shall keep, the same to be paid from the funds of the Union.

"5. That a route be given to each missionary to which he shall adhere as closely as possible, and send a report of his progress to the Secretary every week.

"6. That the following certificate signed by the Secretary be given to every missionary as his credentials, together with the following instructions—that a copy of these instructions be signed by every missionary as evidence of his having promised to abide by them, and that such copy be kept by the secretary.

#### CERTIFICATE OF APPOINTMENT.

"This is to certify that the bearer, Mr [REDACTED] has been appointed by the council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, to visit the counties of [REDACTED] for the purpose of explaining the principles and objects of the Union; and to obtain members to the Union; and to deliver lectures in order to create and extend an enlightened opinion in favour of the principles of a full, fair, and free representation.

Secretary.

#### INSTRUCTIONS.

"SIR—In appointing you as a missionary of the National Complete Suffrage Union, the provisional council require that you will strictly adhere to the following instructions, to a copy of which you have appended your signature as a proof of your having promised to abide by them. They also deem it necessary to inform you that should you at any time disobey these instructions, you will from that time cease to be regarded as a missionary.

"1. That you endeavour to call, or cause meetings to be called in such places as you may visit, for explaining the objects of the Union, and for inducing persons to join it, and that you make arrangements in such places for the sale of members' cards.

"2. That in your addresses to the public and in the documents you may publish, you strictly guard against all violence and impropriety of language, and that you use only just, peaceful, legal, and constitutional means for promoting the objects of the Union.

"3. That you do not, in your capacity of missionary, visit any political society, nor attend meetings, called in the name of any political society.

"4. That you do not oppose, nor in any way interfere, with the societies already formed, excepting to invite the members in their individual capacity to take out cards of the union, but in places where there are no efficient societies, you recommend the forming of Complete Suffrage associations.

"5. That you zealously impress upon the people the importance and power of temperance, as a moral and political means for effecting and securing their political and social rights; and that instead of meeting in public houses, you urge on them to hire or build suitable places of meeting, which may be devoted only to objects promotive of instruction and rational enjoyment.

"Signed, on behalf of the provisional council,

WILLIAM MORGAN, Secretary."

The CHAIRMAN said, since their last meeting he had a consultation in London with Mr Sharman Crawford, and several members of the council, upon the resolution which had been passed, recommending a motion to be made for leave to bring in a bill. They went fully into the subject, and after having carefully examined the question, it was suggested that the discussion on the property tax bill would afford a very good opportunity for again introducing the subject. They could then very fairly and properly go into the evils of the country, and clearly show that they had all arisen from class legislation. They could show the manner in which the members of the present House of Commons had voted; they could show that only about seventy of them voted for a motion to consider the claims of the people; that only fifty had voted for hearing three millions of the people at the bar of their

houses; that they had declared their own incompetency to govern, by the admission of the infamous bribery which they had practised; they could clearly show that the great majority of the members of the present House of Commons had obtained their seats in that house by means which no honest man could approve of [applause]; and they could with great truth assert, that they were unfit to legislate for the people, or impose taxes upon them, inasmuch as they did not represent them. Sir Robert Peel had stated that he would proceed with the property tax on Friday week, in case he could get the tariff arranged by that time. It was therefore suggested that Mr Crawford might bring forward an amendment embodying their opinions on that occasion. Mr Crawford immediately concurred in the suggestion, which was unanimously approved of. The next night, Mr Crawford accordingly gave notice of the following amendment: "That as by the existing laws, a large proportion of the people of this realm are excluded from voting for members of parliament, and as it also appears by the reports of different election committees that corrupt practices have been used to an unprecedented extent in procuring the return of members to this present, House of Commons, and as from both these causes, this house cannot be considered a fair representation of the people, it is therefore unjust, and a violation of the principles of the constitution, that any system of increased taxation should be imposed by a House of Commons so elected." Their friends in the House of Commons could refer to the late important disclosures made in reference to bribery, and particularly to that astonishing fact admitted by Mr Duncombe—that he had left not less than £30,000 in one borough, nearly all of which was spent in bribery. Indeed, considering all the circumstances of their position, he thought they could not have a better opportunity for bringing forward the question than that afforded by the forthcoming discussion on the property tax.

The members of the council expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the arrangement which had been agreed upon, and immediately proceeded to the appointment of a sub-committee to draw up a circular to members of parliament, and in other ways promote the success of the motion.

A long discussion then took place, in relation to the approaching elections, and the propriety of members of the Union assisting in the return of any candidates not pledged to the principle of complete suffrage. The following important resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That this committee at the present important juncture, again express their conviction that the friends of complete suffrage, ought on no account to nominate or support any candidate in any forthcoming election, who is not distinctly an advocate of this great principle—that every man of 21 years of age, who is not deprived of his right of citizenship, in consequence of the verdict of a jury of his countrymen, is entitled to the elective franchise."

NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.—The Chairman stated that from various communications he had received from Nottingham, it appeared likely that a majority of the electors would wish him to represent them in parliament. He had promised to visit them to-morrow, and should take particular care that nothing incompatible with the most perfect purity of election, should be done in his name. With respect to canvassing, he had some doubts; at the same time it did occur to him that there was some force in the argument that it was useful as affording an opportunity for explanation and information. He would not ask for a single vote, but he would wish the electors to have all necessary information respecting him. Mr STEELE suggested that, as the contest was clearly of a national character, being a trial of principles, the members of the council ought to proceed to Nottingham and exert whatever influence they might have there, as was done by the Catholic association in the case of the Clare election. This suggestion being discussed, it was agreed that the Secretary should write to Nottingham, and offer any assistance which could be available.

The council then despatched a variety of formal business, and the meeting separated.

#### THE AFGHANISTAN AND CHINA WARS.

There is a strong feeling being daily extended throughout the country against the horrible sacrifice of human life meditated in Afgghan and China. So great is the feeling of disgust aroused by the powerful appeals of Mr George Thompson, that we hesitate not to say it will be difficult for any ministry, however powerful, to raise another expedition for the unholy war in which this country is now engaged. On Thursday night last, Mr Thompson delivered a powerful address to thousands of highly respectable persons assembled in the Town Hall, Birmingham; and throughout his lecture he was received with the most marked applause, sufficient to show the abhorrence in which the war is held by the people of that town, in common with our fellow countrymen in all parts of the kingdom. On Monday evening Mr Thompson was to have delivered a second lecture, but was prevented by some cause which we have not yet heard explained. The meeting, however, on the occasion was numerously attended, and the most enthusiastic spirit manifested against the wars. The crowded state of our columns renders it impossible for us to give an outline of these appeals to the public; but we shall do so in our next.

#### NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.—Nottingham, Tuesday Evening.—The good cause goes nobly on. The presence of Mr Sturge is alone wanted to kindle a flame that will light up the darkest recesses in which the corrupt factions have carried on their trade in the consciences of the electors—their gold, and not their principles, being what they relied upon for success. A public procession is to be formed at the railway station on Mr Sturge's arrival to-morrow evening, to accompany him to the Market place, where he will address the people. The machinery for the election is in active preparation, and when fully worked by patriot hands, will be found to promote the convenience of the honest and virtuous, while it will serve as a ready means of detection of any attempts at a repetition of the old practices among the corrupt. The coming forward of such a man as Mr Sturge, on principles so congenial to the long-cherished feelings of the men of Nottingham, affords them an opportunity they have long sighed for, and which they are determined to improve for the advantage of the country, and their own honour.

#### CORN MARKET. MARK LANE, THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is small; of foreign, considerable. There is no alteration in price, but a fair inquiry for bonded wheat.

## NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"On-Looker." Thanks. We have more than once attempted to exchange with the said paper, but in vain. In our reports we endeavour to do the best we can for all societies, and our space being so limited, we must make a selection somewhere, and we do not ordinarily select those, the committees and agents of which will give us no countenance.

"Henry Dowell Griffiths." We gave an answer about six weeks ago, in our notices to correspondents, to this gentleman's trash, about the attempted assassination of Mr Feargus O'Connor, but put his name only in initials. We have since been pestered with three or four notes, of which we shall take no further notice.

"James Humphrys" received.

"B. Parsons." Next week if possible.

"J. Peggs" received.

A Leeds correspondent, who sent us twelve postage stamps, will greatly oblige us by forwarding privately his name and address. By some mishap his letter has been mislaid.

Terms for advertising in the *Nonconformist*.

For 8 lines . . . . .	5s. 0d.	For 16 lines . . . . .	7 0	For 24 lines . . . . .	9 0
10. . . . .	5 6	18 . . . . .	7 6	26 . . . . .	9 6
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14. . . . .	6 6	22 . . . . .	8 6	Every additional 2 lines, 6d	

\*\* Advertisements from the country should be accompanied by a post office order, or reference for payment in London.

## The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 18, 1842.

### SUMMARY.

THE nobles of our land, grave statesmen and stern soldiers, lawyers of high repute, and senators of every degree, at the invitation of royalty, and in company with the *elite* of the fair sex have been playing the *antique* at Buckingham Palace. With true feudal taste, our aristocracy has found its highest enjoyment in living, though it were but in fancy, and "positively for one night only," in the good old times of Edward III, when there were but two classes of people in these realms, the barons and their serfs. Immense sums of money are said to have been expended in order to make the illusion as much like reality as possible; and so far succeeded, that we doubt not many a mailed count and jewelled lady found the transition next day from the delicious reverie of the preceding night, to the reality of every day life in the nineteenth century, anything but agreeable. For the sake of the "Corinthian capital of society," it is a pity that we cannot go back to the dark, restless, and half civilised times upon which, it would seem, aristocratic memory fondly doats.

In harmony with the gaiety of the palace, it becomes us to mention the piety of the church. A circular letter is to be addressed to all the clergy of the establishment, and collections for the poor to be made in every parish. We have heard that the best way to tame wild animals, is to shut them up to hunger; and, when the appetites are most clamorous, and the spirit broken down by want, to dole out to them in small portions, and at times when those small portions will be received with liveliest gratitude, the food they are accustomed to find for themselves when at liberty. We think our rulers may have taken the hint, and, reasoning from analogy, have lighted upon some such recipe as this for the management of a discontented people. *Imprimis*, a standing army to answer the purpose of iron bars; item, the grinding bread tax, to effect two important objects—first, a diminution of employment, and secondly, an enhancement of the price of the chief articles of subsistence. After an administration of a due dose of the above, then threaten them with poor-law unions and a rural police, until, harassed on all sides, they will be thankful to receive any mitigation of their sufferings. This is the critical moment for proposing a general collection for the relief of the poor, and in ordinary times for buying the gratitude of the people at the smallest possible cost. This is one of the beautiful results of church and state alliance.

We have touched upon the question of the poor laws, and it may not be amiss for us to notice here the policy of the tory cabinet in reference to this question. On Wednesday evening Sir James Graham, in a bland and gentle speech—seemingly all candour, calmness, and Christianity, moved the House of Commons for leave to bring in his Poor Law Commission bill. The principle of the whig measure is retained by its conservative successor, and that principle the Secretary of State for the Home Department has embodied in details somewhat less irregular, partial, and contradictory, than those at present existing. In short, the old measure is furbished up, and the new one is rendered scarcely less stringent, and somewhat more permanent than that which it supersedes. There can be no doubt that any prudent system of poor laws must recognise the necessity of distinguishing by some efficient test between the industrious and the idle poor, and must refuse to quarter those who won't work upon the, perhaps, straitened resources of those who work hard. Such a test, however, we hold to be nothing less than downright injustice so long as the arm of industry is paralysed by restrictions upon the importation of food; and is especially an instrument of tyranny in the hands of irresponsible commissioners, whose despotic power to affect the condition of the poor is inconceivably fearful. Nay, such a test, we contend, can never be fairly worked by guardians representing the rate payers only, whose chief object will be, of course, a diminution of the poor rates; and, finally, such a test, when it goes to the length of violating domestic ties, breaking up, upon casual emergencies, family circles, and separating the husband from the wife, and parents from the children, can neither obtain the approbation of man nor the sanction of God. It is the prostration of all the living interests of humanity before a golden idol—a giving precedence of small pecuniary savings to all

the comforts, decencies, and hopes of life, in relation to by far the larger portion of our countrymen. Sir James Graham was of course cheered on by the whigs, and leave was given to bring in the bill, which was shortly after read a first time.

Closely connected with this subject is Sir Robert Peel's tariff. On Tuesday, May 10th, the honourable baronet gave a lucid exposition of his views upon our commercial policy. He professed his adoption of the principles of free trade in all their integrity; and he declared his intention, in the new tariff, to give to those principles as extended an application as the great and conflicting interests of this country will at present allow. On Friday Lord Howick moved a resolution declaratory of the inexpediency of imposing, in any fresh instances, differential duties. A debate followed, and the House divided, when Lord Howick was beaten by a majority of 173. The committee moved for by Mr Roebuck for inquiring into the recent compromises of elections has since been nominated. A bill of indemnity for witnesses will be passed probably as soon as the forms of the House will allow.

The accounts we have hitherto received from Nottingham, promise well for a victory of principle over corruption. All classes of reformers are uniting their energies to wipe out the blot of infamy, with which recent practices have stained that borough. The writ is not yet issued, the House of Commons having refused to stultify itself by issuing a writ, pending an inquiry in which the character of Nottingham is so deeply involved. Ample time, therefore, will be afforded for careful preparation. Mr Sturge's address to the electors, is already in circulation. The tory committee, we believe, is quietly at work; but no other candidate has yet appeared to dispute the ground with the Chairman of the National Complete Suffrage Union. We hear that Mr Sturge will meet the electors to-day, to explain his political views, and to answer to any inquiries which the constituency may deem it necessary to propose. The pleasing aspect of the cause, in this individual instance, is but a type of its progress in every part of the kingdom. O'Connell is rallying the millions of Ireland around the flag of the National Complete Suffrage Union. Scotland is moving with hearty vigour in support of the same principles; and from every quarter of our own country, indications may be gathered up of a conversion of public opinion, upon this subject, more rapid than perhaps has ever heretofore been witnessed. The triumph of Mr Sturge at Nottingham, would be, we trust, but the prelude, the little preliminary flourish to the fuller, grander, and more glorious triumph of the British people.

### TOO MUCH REFORM.

THE events which have occurred during the last few weeks have demonstrated, we should imagine, to the conviction of all who are not wilfully blind, the necessity of a searching reform of our representative system. The only question about which a serious division of opinion exists, is the extent to which change should be carried. The National Complete Suffrage Union, it is urged, has ventured far beyond the boundaries of prudence, and has thereby retarded the cause it aimed to promote. By the adoption of the "six points," it has placed a numerous class of men who were favourable to the principle of complete suffrage in a position of perplexity. It has produced a revulsion of feeling in the minds of thousands who were just beginning to look towards the movement with favour, if not with hope. Their prejudices have sustained too rude a shock. Their fears have been unnecessarily stimulated. A more moderate course would have been attended with a larger success—and since it is to the middle classes we must mainly look to return a House of Commons willing to give a legislative development to any principles of reform, it would have been far wiser to have proposed something less sweeping in its character, and more likely to win the approbation of electors. For these reasons many stand aloof from "the union"—refuse to countenance its decisions, and, of course, to aid its efforts.

We earnestly crave the attention of such. They must allow us to ask, whether the basis of reform to which they refer, and upon which they hesitate to take their stand, outstretches the limits of justice, or simply goes beyond the wants of the times and the mind of the age—whether, in fact, objection is taken to the principles involved, or only to the impracticability of embodying those principles in consequence of the present state of public opinion? We think it becomes every individual friendly to the progressive elevation of his countrymen, narrowly and conscientiously to examine for himself whether his resolution to refuse assent to the plan of the National Complete Suffrage Union, springs out of a conviction of its impropriety *per se*, or only of its unsuitableness to the present condition of the country. In either case we beg to submit to their candour a few considerations.

We assume, then, that we address ourselves to those who are anxious to see a real representation of the people. It is with the friends of reform, not its foes, that we have to deal. Most earnestly would we seek to impress upon their minds the importance of looking at this matter in the light of common sense. Virtual representation is but a figment of fancy. He who is intrusted with irresponsible power in this world—power, we mean, for the exercise of which none can call him to account, but which, in theory, he holds in trust for the advantage of others, never can be expected to use it for the benefit of others when his own interests are thereby injuriously affected. The franchise thus held, will ever be treated as property, and will be used for great national ends only when private ones present no temptation to employ it otherwise. To expect a general reversal of this law, is just to expect that man will cease to be man, that the current of human nature will flow backwards, and that the possession of a vote, by some inexplicable and mysterious moral alchemy, will transmute selfish motives into

benevolent and righteous ones. Now what does real, in opposition to virtual, representation involve? Can any one of the principles affirmed by the Complete Suffrage Union be struck out of their plan, without throwing a larger amount of representative privilege into the hands of one class of men than is conceded to those of another class? What matters it whether a vote is given to one and refused to another, or is given to all under circumstances which make it in regard to some only nominally their own, or is intrinsically more weighty in the hands of the inhabitants of one locality than it is in the hands of another, or is available only in the choice of representatives of one class—in either case a large proportion of real representation is merged, and a corresponding weight is thrown into the scale of what is called virtual, but what is, in reality, class representation. Injustice must fall upon some parties. Some there must be, under any one of these alternatives, the expression of whose opinions by means of the franchise, will be less influential in producing its result in our legislature than that of others. But upon what grounds of justice can the inequality be defended? By what well defined and cognisable rule are we to regulate the distribution of electoral power—here in excess, there in deficiency? How can such a differential suffrage be made to square with the great rule of Christian ethics? We invite the moderate reformers to try their hands upon this problem. If they leap from the bank of prescription, they will find themselves unable to touch ground again, until they have reached the opposite one of full, fair, and free representation.

Objections, however, are not often urged in this direction. Not against the justice, but against the policy of complete suffragists complaint is loud. They have overshot the mark. By aiming at too much, they have missed what otherwise would have been attainable. This we take to be the gravamen of the charge against them. Let us fairly examine it.

We shall not now repeat, in justification of the National Complete Suffrage Union, the argument insisted upon in our last number, that it is desirable for the sake of all parties, to base the next change in our parliamentary institutions, upon the substantial ground of common sense and justice. We here simply commend it to notice as entitled to some weight. Independently of this consideration, we may urge that the day for moderate reform is gone by. Not in a tone of cavil and reproach, but as a simple matter of fact, we are constrained to remind the middle classes that they clung to the whigs too long, that they too uniformly sanctioned whig oppression, too tamely submitted to whig finality, too generally connived at whig truckling, to allow the possibility now, on the extinction of whig power, of making any partial concessions acceptable to the great mass of the people. The heart of the nation was completely sick, and could find solace only in long and familiar communion with great principles. Those principles they have learned to love with an attachment bordering on enthusiasm, and any attempt to divert their affections was only regarded with a sensitive jealousy. Whether or not reform, which did not command the hearty good-will of the labouring classes, could ever have made way against the overwhelming influences at the disposal of our aristocracy, may well be doubted. But the importance of their good-will can scarcely be overrated.

It may be argued, we are aware, that as the labouring classes generally are without the franchise, their approval of any proposed constitutional change is of the less consequence. We think otherwise. We think it a matter of incalculable moment, on the eve of a mortal struggle with aristocracy, to secure the confidence, and thereby direct the energies, and temper the heat of the millions who will take part in the conflict. We imagine that an angry collision between two parties in the state—a collision necessarily consequent upon an earnest effort for reform—where a third party, stronger than either, would be indifferent to the issue, and keenly vigilant for the first favourable opportunity of wresting from both their own rights, would expose every institution of the land to imminent danger. To have left untouched so large a mass of discontent, whilst venturing upon an encounter with aristocratical power, would in our judgment have been little short of madness. Cordial reconciliation between the middle and the labouring classes was not only necessary to the ultimate triumph of agitation, but even to its safe conduct up to the point of triumph. Without the working men, we should have done nothing more than excite passions which we were unable to control. We might rouse feeling, but could not moderate it. We might get up a storm, but should be unable to direct it. Even now the backwardness of the middle classes to join the movement renders our position every day more critical. We concur in the following sentiments, contained in an able address to the electors, circulated by the "Manchester Universal Suffrage Association."

"They, too, (the committee) have their apprehensions on the subject of universal suffrage; but they are of a kind widely different from those usually entertained. Their fear is, not that universal suffrage will be conceded too soon, but that it will be delayed too long. They desire to see political right cheerfully conceded to the unrepresented, by the justice and good sense of the electoral body, and not extorted from their fears. If the middle classes continue to stand aloof from the masses whose interests, rightly considered, are their own, they may, perhaps, delay the crisis, and condemn the country to long years of vain and protracted struggle against aristocratical misgovernment; but such a course can only terminate in the violence and bloodshed of civil convulsion. In the war of class which will ensue, they will be numbered with the hereditary oppressors, without being able to plead the force of habit, education, and historical recollections in their defence. What, therefore, the committee desire to recommend to the middle or electoral class is, to be wise in time, not to content themselves with the fashionable sophistries which it is the interest of nobles and priests to disseminate on the subject; but to take their humbler fellow citizens by the hand; hear what they have to say; correct their mutual errors; receive encouragement; and impart caution."

We are compelled, however, to break off. Our limits will not allow us to dispose of the whole subject within the compass of a single article. The substance of our remarks, as far as we have proceeded, may be thus gathered up. We contend that any agitation for reform, which did not concede the just demands of the people, would have been as perilous as unsuccessful. Circumstances, over which the National Complete Suffrage Union could have no control, and which had operated for a lengthened period before that Union was even thought of, had already decided the point as to the impracticability of carrying any measure of reform but that upon which the millions had set their heart. But one course, therefore, was left open to them. Sound policy, as well as regard to justice, dictated their proceedings. Let those blame who will. It is far easier to find fault than to amend. The moderates had already tried their hand and failed; and in the issue it will be seen that the boldest men were also the most practical.

#### THE MONEY MOLOCH.

MONEY worship has its rites, and we question whether any form of idolatry which this world of ours has witnessed, has been equally grinding in its exactions. Englishmen have been wont to exhibit a laudable indignation whenever and wherever political despotism has perpetrated wanton cruelty. We do not blame them. But possibly, were due examination made, we might discover under our very feet, and within a stone's throw of many of us, a social despotism whose deeds of barbarity, if they may be paralleled, cannot be surpassed. "The love of money," we learn from high authority, "is the root of all evil." And assuredly, the money-Moloch of our country, and of this age, is about the grimmest, fiercest, most implacable god which ever claimed and had the fealty of men. We turn up our eyes with wonder at the besotted votaries who, in days gone by, "made their children pass through the fire." The votaries of mammon in this enlightened and *Christian* country, are not a whit behind their ancient fellow-worshipers. Our factories are daily scenes, even now, of hecatombs of youthful victims, sacrificed not only without remorse, but with a stoical indifference to which it is difficult, we should imagine, for human nature, in its most depraved state, to attain. But our mines—the infernal cruelty practised upon boys and girls in these graves both of comfort and of virtue, has never, in any age, been outdone. The recent disclosures made in the parliamentary report of the "Children's Employment Commission," may well excite the horror of every individual in whom a vestige of humanity remains. We have sometimes read, with shuddering disgust, of the outrages committed upon helpless childhood by man, when existing in a state of naked savagery. We aver our belief, that in cold-blooded atrocity, they do not equal what is going on from day to day in some of our coal mines. Young creatures, both male and female—six, seven, eight, and nine years old, stark naked in some cases, chained like brutes to coal carriages, and dragging them on all-fours, through sludge six or seven inches deep, in total darkness, for ten, occasionally twenty, in special instances thirty hours successively, without any other cessation, even to get meals, than is casually afforded by the un-readiness of the miners—here is a pretty picture of British civilisation. One cannot read through the evidence taken by the commission above referred to, without being strongly tempted to abjure the very name of Englishman. Wealth, it is true, covers a multitude of sins. But we do think, that were the names, in every instance, of the proprietors of mines, who persist in thus setting at nought the laws of nature and humanity (religion is out of the question in such a connection), kept prominently before the public eye, there is sufficient virtue still extant among us, to consign these mammon-worshipers to execration and infamy. Amongst the various mysteries of Providence, certainly not the least, in our judgment one of the greatest, is the permission to such monsters, to profit by worse than brutal cruelty to children—and perhaps in no country under heaven does avarice doom the tender offspring of the poor to more terrible privations, to more incessant suffering than in our own. What may prove an effectual remedy to the evil we know not; but we think the professedly religious portion of the community is under obligation to hunt down the beast in human form who coins his gold out of the suffering and demoralisation of childhood, let him pass by what name, and move in what sphere, he will. Society ought to hiss him out of sight.

#### PEEPS BEHIND THE SCENES.

WITHIN the last fortnight the public has been admitted to a sight of some portion of that machinery by which the construction of our present House of Commons is effected. Mr Roebuck and Mr Duncombe have done much, each in his own peculiar way, to let us into the knowledge of the inestimable worth of our present representative system. Right grieved we are to find that the honorable member for Bath and the honorable member for Finsbury do not work in couples. Each, we think, has somewhat impaired the value of his services to the public by the asperity of his reflections upon the conduct of the other. We look upon both as having contributed to the accomplishment of an important end—the one by his severe gravity, and the other by his gay and facetious frankness; and we see no good reason why such men should waste their energies in attempts to throttle one another whilst such ample scope remains for both for the due development of their distinctive talents. Mr Roebuck has moved for a committee to inquire into compromises which have been effected in reference to election petitions, and such committee has been granted him. It matters little to the public what may be the decisions to which it may arrive. Be they what they may, Mr Roebuck can hardly add to the obligations under which he has laid the people of this kingdom when he so

nobly dragged out into the light of day the practices which were carried on in the darkness of concealment. He may substantiate his case by legal evidence, but the evidence he has already produced has been amply sufficient to satisfy the public judgment.

So far as the people are concerned, the main interest of the matter is now over, for whatever may be proved, and whatever the amount of evidence adduced, no one expects the present House of Commons to deal with the question in sincerity and earnestness. To the present state of feeling on this subject, we are bound in fairness to say that the member for Finsbury has done his part. By talking in the ear of the public in precisely the same strain as honourable members talk amongst themselves and at their clubs, he has happily exposed the gross hypocrisy of the house, and has brought out the fact, that even in the opinion of its own members, it is difficult to find nine men, whose seats have not been reached through the employment of corrupt influences. We trust, therefore, he will persist in his intention to move an address to her Majesty, praying her at once to dismiss a parliament which does not represent even the present limited constituency, and in such a motion we should expect the hon. member for Bath to concur. What right members thus chosen have to impose upon us an inquisitorial income tax, we find it impossible to imagine, and any proceedings on the part even of the smallest minority which should obstruct the legislative acts of such a body we should hold to be perfectly justifiable.

#### BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the above society was held in Exeter Hall, on Friday, the 13th instant. About 3,000 persons were present.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE, on taking the chair, said—It will not be necessary for me to state at any length, or in any detail, the objects for which we are met together this day, or the feelings which make those objects matters of such deep interest to us. The progress which this society has made, and the claims which it has upon your sympathy and attention, will be developed and explained to you by speakers who are more able to do it than myself. Thus much, however, I may say, that the objects for which we are met here to-day, and the feelings which those objects excite, are such as cannot be objected to by any friend of humanity, or by any Christian. They are unalloyed by any personal or selfish feeling, and even by any political bias. On the contrary, we are here for objects which must be dear to every philanthropist, to every friend of humanity, and to every Christian. The good which this society has done, the necessity for continuing its exertions, and the need of more earnest sympathy and zealous co-operation, will be explained to you very fully; and we will, therefore, commence the proceedings by Mr. Scoble reading the report.

J. SCOBLE, Esq., then read the following report:—

#### REPORT.

LIKE every other great and good work which depends for its success on the force of Christian principles, and enlightened public sentiment, the anti-slavery cause has had its difficulties to encounter, and its triumphs to record during the past year. In meeting the friends of that cause on the present occasion, the committee express their unwavering confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth over error—of righteousness over injustice—of liberty over slavery; and, commanding it to the watchful care, the warm sympathy, the active efforts of the friends of humanity in this country, and, above all, to the divine blessing to crown it with ultimate success, they proceed very briefly to narrate the most material events connected with its history since they last assembled together.

#### THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY.

The slave trade, so far as its movements can be traced in official and other authentic documents, is but little diminished in its extent. The markets for human beings are still open—the traffic is carried on with great activity—the profits are immense—and it is found that, just in proportion to the vigour of the means used for its forcible suppression, is the ingenuity of its abettors successfully exercised in carrying it on, and the miseries and mortality of its victims fearfully increased. Cuba and the Brazils are, at the present time, the largest markets for the sale of slaves, and thither a vast multitude of these wretched beings—principally of the male sex, in the prime of their existence—are annually transferred from the continent of Africa, to replace those who have miserably perished under the oppressions of the slave systems of those countries. If, in consequence of the difficulties to be overcome in procuring and bringing cargoes of human beings to market, the profits of the slave buyer are less than formerly, those of the slave seller are greater, and his incentives to pursue his criminal undertakings, multiplied.

The ravages of the slave trade are not confined to the western coast of Africa, for the supply of the slave markets on both the American continents and the West Indies. The eastern coast suffers also; thence slaves are transported to the Brazils, and to the states bordering on the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, through which they find their way into various parts of the East, and even into the British territories in Hindostan. From northern Africa slaves are shipped for the markets in the Levant and Constantinople, where they find a ready sale. The negro states on the borders of Egypt supply that country with wretched beings of the same class. To glut the rapacity of the more civilised portions of the earth, Africa is still compelled annually to yield up an immense number of her children, who are forced into exile and slavery.

The treaties which have hitherto been negotiated by this country with foreign powers, for the suppression of this great iniquity, however honourably designed, have, with few exceptions, been flagrantly broken. Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils, have long been under the most solemn engagements to terminate the disgraceful traffic; but the bad faith of these powers has only led to years of painful diplomatic remonstrance and negotiation, without lessening the evil to any great extent. At the present moment Spain is unable, even if she were willing, to fulfil her obligations. Deriving an immense revenue from her colonies, in part from the slave trade, and threatened with revolt if she listen to the demands of the British government, she hesitates to fulfil her treaties, and to vindicate her own laws and character from

the foul dishonour cast upon them. Portugal, without the shadow of a pretence, save her poverty and consequent inability to keep up her colonial establishments in Africa without it, refuses to carry her treaties for the extinction of the slave trade into effect, except under such limitations and restrictions as the British government cannot and will not sanction. Brazil is retrograding: her treaties are a dead letter: her authorities connive at the illicit introduction of slaves into all parts of the country; and the greatest efforts are made by some of her leading men to repeal the laws of the empire which make that introduction criminal, and give force to her treaties with Great Britain. Against this flagrant act the British government has earnestly, and hitherto successfully, protested as a gross violation of her engagements. France refuses to ratify the very treaty which, in conjunction with this country, she proposed to the other great powers of Europe, from the jealousy of her people that England aims, under the cover of philanthropy, at maritime supremacy and the degradation of her flag. The United States peremptorily refuses to enter into any treaty, with any power for the suppression of the slave trade, and even threatens war if the right of search, in its most qualified sense, be insisted on by the British government. Several of the South American states are temporising; and one of them, Monte Video, has actually evaded her treaty stipulations by importing native Africans into her territory under the name of colonists.

What lies at the root of all this hostility, opposition, and treachery on the part of the kingdoms and republics, both in the old and new world, in reference to the benevolent and generous exertions of Great Britain to destroy this evil? The committee reply in one word—it is slavery; and they feel confident that until that mighty evil be extinguished—until the markets for slaves be broken up—it is vain to hope for the suppression of the slave trade.

The flags at present employed in covering this traffic, on the western coast of Africa, are the Portuguese, the United States, and the Spanish. Occasionally the flags of Brazils, Monte Video, France, Sweden, and Hamburgh, are used for the same purpose. On the eastern coast we find the flags of Portugal and Brazil with the occasional assistance of others. The flags of different Arab chiefs also are at present devoted to the same infamous trade. On the northern coast the Sardinian, Greek, Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman flags cover the traffic of the Levant and Turkey; and it must be confessed that, although the flag of Great Britain is not prostituted in the same way, her merchants generally, as well as those of the United States, residing in slave-holding and slave-trading countries, or who trade to the coast of Africa, furnish the means either in capital or goods by which no small part of this dreadful commerce in mankind is carried on.

In the ports of the United States, slavers are built and fitted out with a full knowledge of the purposes to which they are to be devoted. In those of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, they are also openly prepared for their guilty voyages. Consuls, governors, and captains' general, ambassadors, ministers of state, and subordinate officers, have hitherto shown no reluctance in availing themselves of the splendid bribes offered them for assisting or conniving at the prosecution of this revolting trade. In fact, it appears that treaties are made only to be broken—that laws are enacted only to be violated; and that Great Britain has stood almost alone in the sincerity of her efforts to suppress the slave trade, and in the generous—the almost incredible sacrifice of treasure and of life, to accomplish her noble purpose. She has, however, toiled and sacrificed in vain: her cruisers on the coast of Africa and elsewhere have not been seconded, to any extent, by those of other powers, with whom she is in treaty; and if she has driven the trade from one part of the coast, it has sprung up in another. "Under such circumstances," then, to use the language of the late secretary for the colonies, "under such circumstances, to repress the foreign slave trade by a marine guard, would be scarcely possible if the whole British navy could be employed for the purpose. It is an evil that can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties."

If it be asked, how is the evil to be overcome? The committee answer again—by the universal abolition of slavery, to promote which great object this society has been established.

The committee now proceed to call attention to the home and foreign operations of the society during the past year.

The first subject in point of importance which has engaged the attention of the committee has been

#### SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

It will be recollected that last year the committee announced the gratifying fact that the long tried friend of the anti-slavery cause, Dr Lushington, had, at their solicitation, undertaken to bring the question of slavery, in the eastern part of the British empire and its dependencies, under the consideration of the House of Commons. Circumstances, however, over which that honourable gentleman had no control, prevented him from doing so; and at the close of the session he retired from a position in parliament, which he had so long, so usefully, and so honourably occupied. The committee are convinced that the friends of the anti-slavery cause generally will unite with them in the expression of their deep regret that it has lost the public services of so distinguished an advocate; and would cherish the hope that others may be raised up who, with equal sincerity and zeal, ability and eloquence, shall plead the cause, and defend the rights of the suffering and oppressed.

During the election which followed the late dissolution of parliament, the committee actively exerted themselves in diffusing information on slavery in India among the electors, and specially called the attention of all candidates for seats in the house of Commons to the same subject. They followed this up by a memorial to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, which was presented to him by a large deputation, composed of members of the committee and friends from the country, in which they laid before him the condition and the claims of the Indian slave. Subsequently to this interview, a deputation from the committee waited on Lord Ellenborough, then president of the board of Control, and now governor-general of India, but found that whilst the subject had not escaped the attention of the prime minister and his colleague, no plan had been matured for securing the object desired. They next turned their attention towards the House of Commons for the purpose of securing the assistance of hon. members in bringing the case before parliament, and hoped that, as soon as the excitement connected with the great political questions of

the day had subsided, the cry of the slave for deliverance would have been heard. In the meantime the report of the law commissioners of India and other important documents, on the subject of slavery and the slave trade in that part of our dominions, have been printed by the House of Commons, and carefully analysed by the committee. The case is therefore ripe for discussion; and they trust they will soon be able to announce that some hon. member is prepared to move that slavery, in whatever form it may exist, in any part of the British empire, shall be immediately and for ever abolished. It is perhaps due to the law commissioners, and the late governor-general of India, to state, that although differing very widely in opinion on some points, they unite in various rules and regulations being necessary to mitigate the state of slavery with a view to its ultimate abolition. Lord Auckland, especially, recommends the enactment of a law to diminish the authority and control of the master over his slave, but none of them contemplate its immediate and entire extinction.

#### SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST.

The existence of slavery in Ceylon has long been a subject under the consideration of government, and measures have from time to time been suggested to the authorities of that island, with a view to its abolition; but into these measures none of the successive governors appear to have entered with a sincere desire to accomplish that object. In consequence of this state of things the committee felt it to be their duty to urge on the attention of the late colonial secretary, Lord John Russell, the necessity of immediately issuing an order in council, (Ceylon being a crown colony,) for its entire abolition. In reply to their suggestion, they were informed by him, that the governor of that colony had been called upon "to furnish a report on the actual state of slavery in Ceylon, with an expression on the part of his lordship, of his anxiety to abolish every vestige of slavery therein." What steps may have been taken in consequence, the committee are not at present able to report.

The committee also memorialised the late board of control on the existence of slavery in Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and Province Wellesley, pointing out its deplorable character, and the fact of a slave trade of an atrocious nature having grown up with it. They pointed out also that slavery in these settlements had not even the plea of a legal existence, and ought, therefore, to be immediately terminated. Their memorial has been transmitted by the government to the governor-general of India, and they trust they will soon be able to report that their wishes have been complied with.

#### WEST INDIA COLONIES.

The committee have watched with intense interest the progress of emancipation in the West India colonies, and are happy to report that the general good conduct of the emancipated slaves continues to be deserving of the highest praise. It is evident from the united testimony of the authorities in the colonies, that they are rapidly advancing in intelligence, moral excellence, and, in some instances, in wealth. There are, however, the committee regret to say, many circumstances existing which prevent the full development of the system of free labour, and, consequently the general prosperity of the colonies. The want of confidence exhibited by the proprietors of estates or their agents towards the negroes, and the attempt to coerce labour under a system of freedom, by adjusting a scheme of rents for huts and provision grounds of the most vicious, unreasonable, and oppressive character, and by combinations to reduce the price of labour below its fair and just level, has led to such results as might have been anticipated: the negroes have withheld labour where they could, and have sought refuge from oppression by the purchase of lands for themselves. The state of the law and its administration has also had an evil effect. The committee, however, are happy to say, that, in this respect, much has been done by the home government to soften the rigour and remove the inequalities of the law which recently existed, yet much remains to be done; and they are satisfied that nothing short of a thorough revision of the whole mass of colonial enactments, or rather their supercession by one uniform code of laws and a re-construction of the courts of judicature will meet the demands of justice, or secure, permanently and efficiently, the rights of persons and of property. Another disturbing cause has been the want of capital to secure labour, or to pay for it regularly and punctually: but for this, cultivation would have been extended in various quarters, and much valuable produce would have been saved from destruction. Another cause which has operated unfavourably has been bad management. By this the committee mean, that the same unbending sternness and violence of manner which characterised the planters during the period of slavery, when the power of the lash was in their hands, has been allowed to actuate their conduct, in too many instances, under the new system. This has begotten opposition and contests which have always ended to the disadvantage of the estates. But wherever fairness and honesty—tact and good humour, have taken the place of violence and deceit, they have been met by corresponding efforts on the part of the negroes to advance the interests of their employers. It may now be considered an established fact, that, where the greatest liberality has been manifested, there the greatest success has been obtained, and the expenses of cultivation most reduced. The committee are gratified in being able to state that, with the exception of Demerara, the crops in the colonies generally, for the present and the ensuing year promise to be much larger than any since the freedom of the negroes has been established. This arises from a better understanding existing between the employers and the labourers; and from the colonies having been blessed recently with more favourable seasons, than for several years past, during which droughts, of almost unparalleled duration, destroyed large portions of the crops.

#### IMMIGRATION INTO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

A great, but, as the committee believe, a fictitious demand for labour has arisen in the colonies. This has led to various schemes of immigration, both of a public and private nature, which have resulted in a large expenditure of money, and a vast waste of human life. Against these schemes, they have earnestly protested, and have used their best exertions to limit their extension where they could not prevent them altogether. The committee are by no means opposed to the spontaneous emigration of free persons to the British colonies, nor to the unchecked circulation of labour among the colonies themselves; but they have felt it to be their duty, on grounds of humanity, to oppose the emigration of Europeans to them, as field labourers, and to warn their countrymen against the delusions attempted to be practised

on them by interested men. The melancholy result in the sacrifice of human life, of those who were duped, the committee lament to say, far exceeded their fearful anticipations, and will, they trust, prove a beacon of warning in future to the unwary.

The committee have also opposed the immigration of Coolies or other Indian labourers into Mauritius, on the various grounds set forth in their memorials to government, petitions to parliament, and the pamphlets they have circulated on the subject. Feeling the great importance of this subject, they obtained an interview by deputation with the present colonial secretary; and, though they received from Lord Stanley every assurance, that, should the measure be carried into effect, every regulation should be adopted to prevent the recurrence of the frightful evils which formerly took place, they are satisfied that, to use the language of Lord Auckland, late Governor-general of India, "no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons, helpless from their poverty and from their utter ignorance and inexperience."

But great as are the objections which the committee feel to the emigration of Europeans and Indian labourers to the colonies, their objection to the peopling of them by the natives of Africa is, if possible, still greater, because in their opinion it involves the renewal of the slave-trade by this country, and the inevitable extension of it by others. Free emigration from Africa, is, they believe, utterly hopeless; but the committee beg to refer for their general reasons against it, to a short paper they have drawn up and circulated through the country on this important subject, entitled "*Emigration from Africa to the West Indies.*" At the present time there is a parliamentary inquiry going forward, the object of which is to ascertain the feasibility of the proposed scheme. The committee are watching the progress of this inquiry with deep solicitude, and earnestly call upon their friends to be prepared to resist any measure the effect of which shall be, directly or indirectly to give a new impetus and vigour to the African slave-trade.

#### FISCAL REGULATIONS IN FAVOUR OF FREE LABOUR.

In the prosecution of their labours the committee have felt it to be their duty to draw the attention of the President of the Board of Trade to the importance of admitting the produce of free labour, come from what country it may, into full competition with that from the British colonies generally; to the necessity of reducing the duty on free labour sugar, so as to increase its consumption by diminishing its price; and to the propriety of relieving West Indian commerce from the restrictions which impede its full development and prosperity. These measures, coupled with a really spontaneous immigration, the committee are persuaded would have the effect of securing an ample supply of tropical production, at moderate prices, to the people of this country; would increase the revenue, and enable the British planter to compete with the slave-holder in other markets than his own. In support of these views a deputation from the committee waited upon the Earl of Ripon, and had a long interview with him, and his colleague Mr Gladstone, to whom, as well as to Lord Stanley, they subsequently submitted their views on the subject of immigration into the West Indies.

#### BRITISH SUBJECTS HOLDING SLAVES IN FOREIGN STATES.

In their last report the committee referred to the painful circumstance that British subjects, both at home and abroad, were deeply implicated as the holders of slaves and the abettors of the slave-trade in foreign states. Subsequently to that period they presented a petition to the House of Lords, setting forth at large the facts that had come within their knowledge on the subject, and asked for a committee of inquiry for the purpose of proving them; and for the extension of the laws if they were not found sufficiently comprehensive for the punishment of all persons so engaged. In an elaborate speech delivered by Lord Brougham, on the presentation of the petition, he gave a luminous exposition of the state of the law relative to the slave-trade; and demonstrated the illegality of most of the cases referred to. That speech the committee printed for general distribution. It is understood that the government have not finally decided upon the course it will be proper for them to pursue to prevent such disgraceful proceedings in future. They believe, however, there is no indisposition on the part of the present administration to do what may be necessary to secure the great ends contemplated by the slave-trade abolition act.

#### UNITED STATES.

At the last anniversary of the society, the committee announced that their devoted friend, Joseph Sturge, had felt it to be his duty to proceed to the United States on an anti-slavery mission. After spending some months in that country in various useful and laborious engagements, which the committee believe have tended greatly to advance the cause of the slave, and to strengthen the bonds of union between the abolitionists of the two countries, he returned hither to renew his labours in promoting the great general object of this society. The particulars of his interesting tour in the United States have been given to the public in a volume entitled "*A Visit to the United States.*" From this publication, and from the information subsequently derived from that country, it is quite clear that whatever division of opinion may have prevented unity of action among the friends of the anti-slavery cause, their principles are rapidly advancing, and their ultimate success certain. The recent debates and collisions in Congress on the right of petition, in its relation to slavery and its kindred subjects, has awakened the public mind to the enormous power of the pro-slavery party in the legislature and government of the country, and its injurious influence on public liberty; and has begotten a spirit of resistance in the free states which cannot be controlled. Indications that the crisis of the anti-slavery cause is not far distant are not wanting, and its friends are full of confidence that the issue will be in favour of the freedom of the slave.

The Mendian Africans, so long the objects of deep interest to the abolitionists of the United States and of this country, are safely arrived at Sierra Leone, on their way to their families and homes. The committee feel it to be their duty to record their gratitude to the Earl of Aberdeen for the interest he has taken in their welfare, and for the reception given to them by the authorities of that colony.

The committee are happy to state that the slaves of the Creole, an American vessel brought into one of the Bahama Islands under circumstances of an extraordinary character, are now in possession of

complete freedom. Nineteen of the number stood charged with mutiny and murder, but these have been discharged out of custody by order of the government. Thus, by the mere fact of touching the free soil of one of the distant dependencies of this country, one hundred and thirty-five human beings, destined to interminable bondage in the slave states of America, have become possessed of the rights and immunities of free men. To the great legal authorities who may be said to have given judgment in their case in the house of Lords, and to the government, the thanks of the friends of freedom and humanity are due, for the course they have pursued in this important affair. One thing only remains to be done by the Queen's ministers, and that is peremptorily to demand of the United States' government for compensation resist the demand for the loss of these slaves.

It appears that the old and favourite project of the slaveholders of the United States, to annex the republic of Texas to the Union, is again to be attempted, but the Committee trust only to be defeated. They deeply lament that her Majesty's present advisers are ready to confirm the treaties with that country, entered into by the late government, though not yet ratified; and would hope that, if it be not too late, the subject may be re-considered, and that the great question of human liberty may be held paramount to mere commercial advantage, if indeed any advantage can ultimately be derived from wrong-doing.

#### BRAZILS.

At the suggestion of several devoted friends of this society, Mr and Mrs Pilkington, towards the close of the year 1839, proceeded to the Brazils for the purpose of instituting an inquiry into various matters connected with the system of slavery as existing in that country, and the extent and character of the slave trade.

From the valuable information collected by him it appears that nearly ONE MILLION of slaves had been introduced into that empire during a period of little more than seven years previous to his arrival; that British subjects were deeply implicated in the slave trade; that the Brazilian mining companies had their mines wrought principally by slaves, a considerable number of whom were purchased from slavers direct from the coast of Africa; that their condition, especially in reference to punishments and want of all means of education, was such as to reflect the greatest disgrace on the directing shareholders of these companies with, the committee regret to say, but few honourable exceptions; and that the general condition of the slave population of that country was extremely wretched and fearfully degraded.

During their sojourn in the Brazils, Mr and Mrs Pilkington circulated several thousand anti-slavery publications, and were instrumental in awakening a deep interest in the minds of many persons in the condition of the slave. Though in the present circumstances of the Brazils there is much to discourage the friends of abolition, there are also some indications of the progress of the cause of humanity even there. A growing conviction of the danger connected with the importation of large masses of slaves, the better character and cheaper cost of free labour over slave labour, and the opposition of many of its distinguished men to the system of slavery, as equally unrighteous and impolitic, lead to the hope that, whenever the present pro-slavery ministry shall be displaced, some large advances may be made in the cause of abolition.

#### HOLLAND.

The progress of the anti-slavery cause in Holland is, upon the whole, very encouraging. Since the last meeting of this society, anti-slavery committees have been formed at Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Groningen. At the solicitation of their friends at Rotterdam, Mr G. W. Alexander, the treasurer of this society, accompanied by Mr John Scoble, paid a visit to Holland at the close of the last year, for the purpose of intercourse with the friends of the cause there; and, during a tour through the principal cities of that country, were much gratified by the deep interest felt in the condition of the slaves in the Dutch colonies; and the many public and private opportunities afforded them of advocating their cause. Among the gratifying circumstances which have occurred, the committee have the pleasure of stating that the Netherlands' government have come to the resolution of abandoning the purchase of slaves in Africa, to recruit their military forces in their distant dependencies and colonies.

#### FRANCE.

The committee have watched with more than ordinary interest the movements of their anti-slavery friends in France, during the past year, inasmuch as they believe that the example of that great country is likely to operate more widely and powerfully than that of any other, on the general question of the abolition of slavery throughout the world. The committee indulged the hope at the last anniversary of the society, that the French government would have matured a measure for terminating the existence of slavery in the colonies of France during the present sitting of the chambers. Obstacles, however, appear to have presented themselves, which have not yet been surmounted. Anxious to remove these obstacles, and to prepare the way for an early solution of the question, the French society for the abolition of slavery under the presidency of the Due de Broglie, invited the various kindred associations in Great Britain and Ireland, to send representatives from their bodies to attend the public meeting of the society, proposed to be held in Paris, on the 21st of February last, but subsequently postponed to the 7th of March. This invitation of their friends was cheerfully responded to by this society, as well as by the Hibernian Anti-slavery society, the Edinburgh Anti-slavery society, the Glasgow Emancipation society, and by the various Anti-slavery associations established at Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, Exeter, Southampton, Oxford, Woodbridge, and Hitchin. The delegates, twenty in number, were most cordially and courteously received; and although the original design of their friends at Paris could not be realised in the manner at first contemplated, the committee believe that much good was effected by the presence and exertions of the English delegates, whilst in the French metropolis.

#### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The accession of a liberal government in Spain naturally created in the minds of the abolitionists of this country the hope that the bad faith which had, for so many years, marked the conduct of its authorities in relation to the slave trade, would have ceased; and that there would have been exhibited, on the part of those who now hold the reins of power, a sincere determination to put an end to so great an evil. As yet the committee are not able to report officially what reply has been given to the demand of the British government for the exact

fulfilment of the Spanish treaties with this country; but it is understood that the Regent either has resisted, or intends to resist, the liberation of the slaves illicitly introduced into Cuba and Porte Rico. On this point, however, the committee trust the British government will be firm, as they are persuaded that this is the only effectual means by which they can secure the termination of the slave traffic in those colonies. How far the new-born zeal of the authorities in Cuba, in reference to the suppression of the slave trade, results from policy or from principle, a short time will probably show; but the committee, with every desire to augur well of the present movement, cannot anticipate any great result to flow from it, while the government of Spain refuses to vindicate its own laws by enforcing the liberation of all slaves illegally possessed, and thus honourably to fulfil their engagements with Great Britain.

The committee are decidedly of opinion, that in Cuba a very strong feeling of opposition to the continuance of the slave trade, exists, especially among the Creole or native population; but they regret to say that, except among a few of the most enlightened part of the community in that important colony, there appears no desire for the abolition of slavery itself.

The recent visit of Messrs G. W. Alexander and Benjamin Wiffen to Madrid, Seville, Valencia, Barcelona, and Cadiz, in the prosecution of an anti-slavery tour, has afforded them a renewed opportunity of strengthening the hands of the friends of humanity in Spain, and of putting them in possession of information which cannot fail to be of great use to the cause of abolition in that country.

The state of the anti-slavery question in Portugal is not a little singular and interesting. Where least was to be expected of the prevalence of just views and principles, there, Messrs. Alexander and Wiffen, who proceeded thither from Spain, found much to encourage them. Several individuals, distinguished by their position in society, declared themselves the friends of abolition, and were, apparently, much alive to the movements of the question in this country.

The Portuguese government, however, have not as yet met the just demands of this country, by crushing that branch of the slave-trade hitherto carried on so unblushingly under their flag.

#### DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

The committee regret to say, that they have no communication of interest to report of the progress of the cause of emancipation in Denmark or Sweden; they cannot believe, however, that the friends of humanity in those countries will allow the question to sleep.

#### AFRICA AND ASIA—TUNIS.

Turning from the continents of Europe and America, the committee are much gratified in being able to record the fact that his Highness the Bashaw Bey of Tunis, in Northern Africa, has not only prohibited the slave-trade throughout his territories, but has emancipated the slaves which belonged to him, and is using his influence to induce his subjects generally to follow his excellent example. The friends of the abolition cause in Malta, have presented to his Highness a congratulatory address on the occasion, and the committee have felt it to be their duty to forward to him, through the medium of the British government, an address of a similar character, to be presented by the consul of this country, Sir Thomas Reade, residing there, whose successful exertions in the cause of humanity the committee would here acknowledge.

#### MUSCAT.

The committee have also the pleasure of stating that the Imaum of Muscat has recently entered into treaty with this country, to prohibit the slave-trade in his dominions, both in Eastern Africa and Asia; and it is not improbable that some, if not the whole, of the Arab chiefs on the borders of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, may be induced to take the same course. The number of slaves supposed hitherto to have been annually exported from the territories subject to the Imaum of Muscat, is estimated at 20,000 annually.

#### CONCLUSION.

In concluding this summary statement connected with the progress of the abolition cause, the committee rejoice to say, that there is a manifest and rapid advance in the public mind of most countries in favour of the liberty and happiness of mankind. In Africa, on the death of their chiefs, two tribes declared themselves free. Even Russia is alive to the generous impulse, as the committee find, by the recent *Ukase* of the emperor in favour of the serfs of that country; and although he has not been able to realise all he wished, yet the gratitude of all interested in the welfare of their fellow-men is due to him for what he designed, and the hope cherished that he may live to see the relics of a tyrannical age and a barbarous people swept from his vast dominions.

The committee have now the pleasure to announce that, in accordance with the intimation already given to their friends in America and Europe, and in unison with their wishes, the next general Anti-slavery convention will be held in London, on Tuesday, the 13th of June, 1843, to which the friends of the universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, from all parts of the world, are cordially and respectfully invited.

The Right. Hon. Dr LUSHINGTON rose [and said, I am instructed by the committee to propose:

"That the report which has now been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the committee. That G. W. Alexander, be the treasurer, and J. H. Tredgold, the secretary; and the following the committee for the year ensuing:—William Allen, Stafford Allen, William Ball, Richard Barrett, John Beaumont, Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart, Rev. James Carlile, Josiah Conder, Joseph Cooper, J. S. Elliott, Josiah Forster, Robert Forster, Samuel Fox, Samuel Gurney, Rev. J. H. Hinton, A.M., L. C. Leesne, Samuel H. Lucas, Right Honourable Dr Lushington, Richard Peek, Dr Thomas Price, Jacob Post, George Stacey, Henry Sterry, Henry Tuckett, Rev. John Woodward, and Rev. John Young, A.M."

I confess in making that proposition the feeling which is uppermost in my heart is that, notwithstanding all the difficulties we have had to encounter, notwithstanding all the obstacles which have impeded our onward course, yet we now stand in a very different—in a very altered situation from that in which in former times the anti-slavery cause was placed. We have no longer to uphold, to defend, and to maintain the great general principle of liberty to mankind over the world. In former days we had to show what now is admitted by every Englishman, and maintained by the universal voice of Great Britain, that according to the eternal principles of justice, and the revealed will of God, every man ought to be free, and that slavery itself is a crime (cheers). We have not now, then, to defend our objects, we

have not now to explain our principles, but we have to call upon you to consider what has been done, what is doing; and to co-operate with us and the friends of liberty throughout the world in the attainment of those objects which are dear to us all. When I consider the report which has just been presented—when I see how vain have been the stipulations entered into by foreign states for the suppression of the slave-trade—and when I recollect this melancholy fact, that where this country has entered into treaties, be it for the maintenance of this possession or of that, that no foreign state ever dared to break the stipulation by which they were bound; yet where the stipulation is only in favour of humanity, and not for the benefit of this or of that individual country, singular it is—but most melancholy, that of all the treaties formed by this country for the last thirty years past, there is scarcely one but has been in a state of constant violation (hear, hear). It is melancholy to remember the greater force and the greater power of obligation, when it is for mere temporal advantages, than the solemn obligation to maintain the happiness and the freedom of the civilised world. But if this be a melancholy picture, and such it is, it arises, I am sorry to say, from two causes, the one the most powerful of all, the love of gain—the other, the state of mind which prevails in other countries upon this subject. There are no such general feelings extant in those countries as exist in England. There is no detestation of the slave-trade, there is no abhorrence of slavery, there is no intense love of liberty; there is no deep sense of the binding obligations of that religion which, in common with us, they still continue to profess at the very moment that they violate its most sacred enactments. But while we look with sorrow upon this side of the question, have we not room for rejoicing? An opportunity for exultation in the contrast which has been presented to the conduct of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils? We have the noble contrast of the Bey of Tunis [hear, hear]. We have him, steeped as he may be in prejudices, unaccustomed as he is to the knowledge, the sacred knowledge, of the great and most solemn duties which bind mankind the one to the other, and all to their God. We have him, nurtured in slavery, united with a race whose curse has been slavery for years past; we have him, breaking all the chains of lucre, prejudice, and iniquity, and setting an example to the Christian world, which may well make them blush, while he rejoices in the superiority of his own morals [cheers]. But believe not that this example will be without its force and effect. It is hard indeed to drive the wedge where the door is closed by a love of gold, however it be obtained; but it is most true, that never was there the great and noble example of truth and self-sacrifice exhibited to the world, but, by the blessing of Providence, sooner or later, it did its work, and paved the way to its imitation (applause). There is another topic referred to in this report which contains, in my opinion, a truth incapable of being contested. It is truly said in the report, that slavery is the root of the evil. The true meaning of that expression is this: that so long as slavery continues to exist, so long the slave trade will continue to prevail. And for the plainest of all possible reasons—the state of slavery furnishes the motive; the slave trade is but the means of carrying into effect and realising that motive. So long, therefore, as in Cuba and in the Brazils, and other countries, slavery be allowed to flourish, as it now continues to flourish from time to time, the welfare of the slaves will be considered—no; I do not say as a matter of subordinate concern, but—as a matter of no concern; and the question will be, as it used to be in former days: Which is the cheapest—to breed them, or to work them out and to buy them? So it has been, and so it is, and so it will continue to be, till the whole state of slavery is eradicated from the face of the globe. Now this society purports to work its end, and to accomplish its great objects, by means that no man can impeach. Whatever some think of force or of violence, this society addresses itself to the understanding, and to the conscience. It relies upon the truth of its cause; it relies upon the certainty, that if this great principle can be made to reach from one end of the globe to the other, it must soon make its impression upon the human heart, and must inevitably produce the real fruit of all such principles, and the abandonment of practices which every Christian views with horror and detestation. One word more before I put an end to the address which it is now my duty make—one word more upon the subject of slavery in the East Indies. It is the bounden duty of this country, while it complains of the faults and offences of others, to take care that it shall itself be pure (hear, hear). I am afraid that the best answer that could be made to us when we are seeking the abolition of slavery in other lands is to say—What have you done since the year 1834 in your own dominions—in Hindostan? When the House of Commons decided to abolish slavery throughout all our eastern dominions, Lord Glenelg, then at the head of the Board of Control, declared in the house of Lords that he foresaw no difficulty in carrying it into practical effect; and when, though the House of Lords did not concur in the immediate abolition—and that is a censure upon that House—of the evil, yet they were so anxious to afford a remedy, that they came to a specific resolution requiring the East India Company to take means to carry into effect as soon as practicable the object upon which both branches of the legislature agreed. But, alas, alas! from the year 1834 up to the present hour, we have had no fruits produced from this magnanimous declaration. We have, I believe I may say, very bulky reports; we have much reasoning; we have a multitude of statements, but I at least am ignorant that any one efficient practical step has been taken towards the accomplishment of that which the legislature I may almost say declared to be necessary to be done and effected. Now that there may be difficulties, and must be difficulties, and are difficulties, I am disposed to admit, because it has been my doctrine since the first day I ever embarked in the anti-slavery cause to the present hour, that the longer we persevere in any course of iniquity, the greater will be the difficulty in turning round. Now there are difficulties, but the great point is this, that these difficulties shall be duly appreciated, that every exertion should be made consistent with the safety of that empire—first, entirely to prevent the possibility of introducing another slave into the country, and then, to emancipate as speedily as may be all slaves who at present remain in bondage there. This, I trust, is a question that will not be allowed to fall to the ground, and that some member of the House of Commons, now I no longer have the honour of a seat there, will have the courage—notwithstanding, I am well aware that the subject of slavery is pall-

ing on the appetite and feelings of that House—will have the courage to get up and perform his part by demanding the attention of that House and of the nation to the consideration of this subject, that the British name may no longer be tarnished in any part of the habitable globe with the foul and odious sin of keeping their fellow countrymen in bondage [cheers],—that we may set to other countries the last great example in our power; that, whatever may be the fears of the timid, whatever may be the outcry against the effort, we are firm to our great principles—we know their truth—we are assured in all humility of the protection of an all-seeing God; and we will go on to show to the whole world our determination that no part of that sin shall longer lie at the door of the British nation [cheers]. Trusting and hoping that mankind is not so degenerate, whether in Spain or Portugal, or living in the very life-blood of his fellow creature in Cuba or in the Brazils, or still nursing at home a bosom of slave-trade, like the United States of America—trusting their understandings will be opened to conviction—their consciences softened—their exertions aroused, and that finally our great cause will, by the blessing of Providence, be everywhere triumphant, I beg to propose the resolution [cheers].

NATHAN DUNN, Esq. in seconding the resolution, said that he fully accorded with the views of the society. He hoped it would not be many years before they had more pleasant news from the East—of which he was a native—and the United States [cheers].

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

Lord CLIFFORD rose and said—I have the great honour to propose the next resolution:

"That this meeting deeply deplores, as a gross violation of the principles of justice, the claims of humanity, and the spirit and precepts of the gospel, the prolonged existence of slavery in British India, and the dependencies of this country in the East, whatever be its character or sanction; and earnestly calls upon the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the empire, to unite their most active and zealous efforts for its immediate and entire abolition; and for the establishment of the right of every human being found within, or resorting to, any and all parts of the British dominions, to personal liberty and the full protection of the laws."

The first observation which I have to make on this resolution is, that this is not a meeting to take into special consideration the interests of India, but the best means of promoting and effecting the abolition of slavery all over the world (cheers). In the remarks, however, which I shall have to make, you will see how much the interests of India are connected with the abolition of slavery. Great Britain has expended 15 millions of money to put down the unchristian, the inhuman traffic in slaves. What has been the counteracting cause which has neutralised and nullified the intended results? It is this: that while 15 millions of money have been expended for this object, no less a sum than £62,500,000 has been expended by this country for the maintenance of slavery. How is this proved?—by the fact that, instead of importing cotton, as we might have done, from the East Indies, we have been importing the slave-grown cotton of America. Encourage the growth of cotton in India, and that country will become a great mart for your manufactures. The prosperity of India, and the abolition of the slave trade, are two correlative propositions. If the £62,500,000 had not been paid to the American slave holder, that money would have gone for the employment of free labourers in our British dominions, and you would not then have felt the distress which unhappily now prevails [hear, hear]. I have but one word more to say, and that is, that the satisfactory settlement of this question depends far more upon the ladies of England than on any foreign powers—than upon any exertions which our sex can make. With reference to the opposition of the American churches to the abolition of slavery, I observed to a friend, that there was a power far super or to any ecclesiastical power—the power of a lady's smile [laughter and cheers]. If the ladies of England will refuse their smile to all who do not hate slavery, we shall soon have an end to the system [laughter and cheers].

Sir G. STRICKLAND, Bart, in seconding the resolution said—After the splendid efforts which this country has made, after it has stood conspicuous before all parts of the world for its great exertions, for its great sacrifices of money, and especially for its last splendid act of liberality, in order to effect the abolition of slavery in a part of our British dominions, does it not strike you all with astonishment, and I will say with horror, that the curse of slavery still exists in our vast dominions in the East [loud cries of hear, hear]! Nay, I believe it will be conceded by every person who hears me, that we hold those vast dominions, not by the power of the sword, not by our soldiers spread amongst millions of human beings, extending over a still larger number of millions of acres, but by moral power and influence. We hold those vast dominions because there is a feeling extensively prevailing there, that British law is more just than Mahometan law; because it is universally believed that the British government, is a benign government wherever it extends. Then how much should we increase that power and influence, if we were only to do that which consistency demands, and declare by one universal and extensive law, that a slave cannot be found upon British soil [loud cries of hear, hear]. I know that many persons have contended that slavery in India is of a milder character than it was in the West Indies, or than it still is in other parts of the world. But have you read the description of slavery, and can you believe that slavery is mild, in any form it may assume [cheers]? No; it is an accursed abomination, that you should hold your fellow man as a species of chattel interest, which you may sell to the best bidder, and he may wear down his flesh, his sinews, and his bones for his own profit [cheers]. That is a system, in whatever light you can look upon it, that never can be mild; that never can be merciful; never can be anything in the sight of God and man, except a great moral sin. It is upon these grounds I contend that it is the duty of the British legislature, as soon as possible, and without delay, to look searching into this great subject; not to let it be slurred over by any representations of interested individuals, that some parties will receive detriment by an act of mercy and justice [hear, hear]. There have been various estimates of the number of slaves throughout the British dominions of the East; but though I have looked into the subject, I believe it impossible to calculate their amount. Some have estimated them at one, and some at two millions; and I see they have been calculated as high as ten millions. The fact is, the great mass of the labouring population in India are slaves of some description. Some of them appear to represent that which used to exist in this

country formerly, in what was called *praedial* or attached servants of the soil. This is a species of domestic slavery, perhaps, in its most mitigated form; but when we come to districts where sugar is made, or produce raised for other markets, there slavery exists in all its severity. I am persuaded that if persons will look candidly into this subject, it will be found that slavery in the East is not attended with less horrors than are found connected with it in all other parts of the world. I will not dwell upon the topics which have been touched upon by other speakers, but confine myself entirely and exclusively to the subject put in my hands. I can only assure you that as I have long been an earnest but humble labourer in this vineyard, so whether in or out of Parliament I will continue to give you my aid, until the horrid system is abolished in this and in every other country [loud cheers].

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq., in supporting the motion said, the resolution which has been moved and seconded is in my judgment one of the most important that can engage the attention of abolitionists. Slavery in India is a home question, and viewed in its relation to the general question of the abolition of slavery throughout the world, it must be regarded as one of paramount importance. I can appeal to my friends about me, who have visited other lands with the earnest desire to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, that we have been taunted with the existence of slavery in British India, and we have been called upon loudly and frequently, to overthrow that great evil in Hindostan, before we attempt to lecture other nations upon the subject of slavery in their respective countries and dependencies. I am rejoiced that the honourable gentleman who has just sat down takes the same view as myself, of the importance of cleansing ourselves from this foul iniquity, before we attempt to ask other persons to abolish these evils in the countries to which they belong. But when I consider that in British India there are millions of our fellow men held in slavery; and that the slavery that is felt there is by no means the patriarchal system, which some have endeavoured to represent it to be; but that it is atrocious in its character, that it destroys human lives, as well as robs multitudes of their liberty; I feel it to be my duty to lift up my voice, at all times, against the foul iniquity, and to demand that great Britain put an end to slavery in British India with its adjunct, the internal slave trade [cheers]. You are aware that distinguished individuals from India, have denied the existence of slavery in that part of the British empire; but when your lordship will direct your attention to the vast pile of parliamentary documents which have been placed on the tables of both houses you will there find that slavery does exist; that it exists to a fearful extent; that it is characterised by nearly all the atrocities which characterise the system in the West Indies. But there are again distinguished individuals from India who deny that the slaves of Hindostan suffer anything like the same amount of degradation and privation, with those who were recently emancipated in our West India colonies. But by way of showing you the extremes of opinion upon this subject, allow me to give you two short extracts. One of them is from the evidence of a gentleman, who fills an office of importance at the present moment under the government; the other from a letter recently received from British India, written by a distinguished judge, who has filled offices of the highest class for the last 40 years. Mr Trevelyan, in his evidence given before the East India produce committee, in 1840, describes slavery in British India in the following terms: "Slavery has been discussed in India on several occasions, with a view to the abolition of it; but the conclusion always come to was, that it was not a practical grievance, and that by interfering with the relations between landlord and ryot in that form—for it is nothing more in fact—we should be meddling with a matter in which we should do no good, and might give general dissatisfaction." This is the testimony of Mr Trevelyan. He says that slavery exists, but it is not felt to be a practical evil. What! is it not a practical evil to be bought and sold in the market [cheers]? Is it not a practical evil to suffer the loss of all those domestic ties, and all those endearing circumstances, which the slave invariably loses in any part of the world in which he may be found? Is it not a practical grievance that any man should be deprived of his natural rights—of the power of locomotion—and be made a mere means to an end to serve other persons? [loud cheers.] But Mr Trevelyan afterwards admits that the slave of India may be sold—may be separated from his family; and he goes on and gives lengthened details of the various hardships which these slaves—who suffer no practical grievances [laughter]—have to endure in that part of the British Empire. I have thought it right, in order that I might have an opportunity of correcting some false opinions upon this subject, to bring out the evidence of Mr Trevelyan, and to place it in contrast with Judge Baber, who bears his testimony to the fact that slavery in British India possesses all the essential characteristics, nay, is even worse, than the slavery that formerly existed in the West India colonies. In a letter I have recently received from him, he says, "The condition of the agrestic slaves, throughout the whole length and breadth of the Western Peninsula, amounting to between three and four hundred thousand souls, is infinitely more appalling than anything ever known or heard of in the far West." It will, however, be found, upon a careful review of these parliamentary papers, that these gentlemen have viewed the system of slavery under different aspects, and in different parts of the country. It will be found that Mr Trevelyan's judgment is formed from what he observed in Calcutta, but Judge Baber's on what he knew to exist on the Western Peninsula of India. It may be true there are some mild forms of slavery existing in certain parts of the continent of India; but with respect to the general character of slavery there, it is as bad in principle, and as atrocious in detail, as that which existed in the West Indies. I am anxious that the system which exists in the East should be overthrown, in order that the objects contemplated by the noble lord (Lord Clifford) should be carried into effect. I am most anxious that we should have in British India a free population to cultivate free cotton, to bring into competition with the products of the United States. Therefore I rejoice that the noble lord is willing to give us his assistance in the abolition of slavery in the East. I will merely ask you to bear in mind the claims of the slaves of British India, and not to relax in your exertions, nor to swerve from your purpose till every part of the British dominions be free from this great evil. The very ground upon which your lordship enjoys your titles and princely estates, will be found associated

with the liberty of the slave all over the world, for I ask what are our rights based upon, but upon an acknowledgement of our individual right to personal liberty, and to the enjoyment of our property [cheers]? Therefore it becomes a duty on the part of all men, however high be their station, to assist in the accomplishment of the regeneration of the world, by the overthrow of this mighty evil, which impedes the march of civilisation and liberty throughout the world [cheers].

The resolution was then put and carried.

The Rev. J. BURNET rose to move

"That this meeting views the continuance of the African slave trade, especially as carried on by professedly Christian and civilised countries, with the utmost abhorrence, and cannot but regard any encouragement of this guilty traffic as reflecting the greatest dishonour on the governments which permit, and the people who sanction it. This meeting therefore, renews the expression of its opinion, that the only certain means of securing the complete extinction of this traffic, is to be found in the universal abolition of slavery, and earnestly recommends to the friends of humanity throughout the world, perseveringly to seek the accomplishment of this great object, by the use of those means only, which are of a moral, religious, and peaceful character.

"That this meeting would hold up to the just condemnation of the world, those of their countrymen who are voluntarily the holders of mines or estates worked by slaves, or who are engaged, directly or indirectly, on the coast of Africa, or in foreign states, in carrying on, or intentionally facilitating, the operations of the slave trade; and would urgently call on the government, to institute proceedings against all such persons, known to be residing within the jurisdiction of the British courts.

"That this meeting in view of the appalling facts laid before parliament, regards with alarm the contemplated removal of the restrictions laid on the export of Indian labourers to Mauritius; as well as the insidious project, now the subject of a parliamentary inquiry, of peopling the West India colonies with native Africans, involving as it does the renewal by this country, and the extension by others, of the iniquities of the slave trade, and expresses its firm conviction, that neither the legislature nor the people of this country, will ever permit so unrighteous a plan to be realised."

This important resolution is really so long, that it ought to serve for a speech [laughter]. We cannot however complain of it, because it is right, that when the result of proceedings, such as these in which we are now engaged, shall have been laid before the public, they should fully understand the great objects that we have in view. And perhaps one of the best ways in which these objects can be well understood, may be the means employed by our committee on this occasion—viz., a full, clear, and lengthened statement of those objects in the resolutions of the day. But many may be disposed to say, and frequently it happens that they do say, that we do not require an anti-slavery society now, that slavery is altogether at an end in our dominions, and that it is scarcely possible to conceive what object an anti-slavery society can have in view, in now continuing to prolong its existence, and its proceedings. Many individuals who did not enter into the slave question, when it had something to do with our own dominions, are ready to say still, that there are no means of satisfying these extravagant, and persevering, and enthusiastic philanthropists; and that they are carrying on this system of protracted meetings in connexion with slavery, for the mere purpose of relieving themselves of the feelings which ought long since to have been gratified by the removal of slavery from our own dominions [laughter and cheers]. Now, I should like to set the public right, if I can, by a few plain statements on this subject. It is very true, that in our western colonies, we have no slaves. I wish that could be said with truth of our oriental colonies. It cannot, however. But I do not say that we ought to have an anti-slavery society merely for India, because there are slaves there;—I would go a step further, and say the condition of slavery throughout the world demands the existence, and cannot be ameliorated without the assistance, of an anti-slavery society. And where can an anti-slavery society be formed with the advantages associated with an English anti-slavery society—a society existing in the bosom of a people that gave twenty millions of money sooner than carry on a lengthened caviling with planters, and have planters caviling with them—to be relieved of this foul traffic and its moral criminality. Such a society could not exist in America, boasting as America does of its act of independence, which, let it be remembered, is found applicable in its working only to the white man. No such society could exist in France whilst France has its slaves; nor could such a society work effectually in Spain, in Holland, or in Portugal. Though such societies may arise there, they must first of all act for the freedom of their own slaves, and then for those of the world. But in our western colonies we have no slaves, and therefore we take our ground upon the great fact, that we have emancipated them; and upon this ground, consecrated by this fact, we can turn round to all the powers under Heaven, and say, "Go ye, and do likewise" [loud cheers]. This is what makes an anti-slavery society a suitable, working, and effective body in this kingdom. Let there be a constant distinction made, however, between slavery and the slave-trade; and it will be found that an anti-slavery society existing so appropriately in England has a great deal of work to do. If I should offer to explain any distinctions that may be obvious to your lordship, and to many on the platform, who are accustomed to think upon these affairs, let it not be supposed that I wish to minister any instructions to you; but let it be recollected that there are many who are not in the habit of directing their attention closely to the slave question, and who do not understand all the technicalities employed when speaking about it, and, if we can, we ought to enlighten upon this great question. The slave-trade therefore, let me remark, is the traffic in slaves between Africa and the countries to which they are carried— is the sail to and fro, backwards and forwards, of the men and women and children of Africa. This is the slave-trade which with us terminated in the year 1807. Slavery is the state of the negroes that have been held in slavery since the slave-trade was abolished, either in our own colonies or in others. In our own colonies slavery is at an end, as well as the slave-trade. In other colonies, however, slavery continues to exist, although the slave-trade has been condemned. Now let it be remembered that slavery is the receptacle for the stolen men and women of the slave-trade. Let us, therefore, clearly observe this distinction. The powers of France are ready to do away with the slave-trade, and to denounce it, and they have done so. But come to slavery itself, and then what do they do? They refuse to listen to you. The question then arises, can they stop the slave-trade while slavery exists? If there is a market for British goods, let those goods be stolen from Africa, or manufactured in England, British commercial cupidity will find it. If there is a large profit to be obtained in a market by a successful speculation, no law will prevent smuggling; and it is well known by those who have paid any attention to the subject, that if thirty, forty, or fifty per cent. can be gained upon an article, no arrangements in the Houses of Parliament—no arrange-

ments at the Custom-house—can stop the traffic that may be denounced. Give the British merchant a profit of fifty per cent. in any trade, and he will run his goods in the face of both Houses of Parliament—in the face of the Custom-house regulations—in spite of all the supervision that men can exercise over him. And why? Just because the property in which he is dealing will be found only in one channel at a time, whilst the means by which you watch him are spread here and there and everywhere. They are not omnipresent—that cannot be; and he will find the place where they are not [laughter]. If you catch him one time, the profit he gets on seven other occasions will be an ample compensation for the loss he has sustained when you have been happy enough once to detect him. This is the way the slave trade goes on in nations where the slave is compelled to work. You can easily see that the slave trade must continue while there is a large profit in carrying it on. I have spoken of forty or fifty per cent, but in this case a profit is obtained of two or three hundred per cent. While there is an opportunity of running such a trade, they will run it against all the laws which can be made. What will not the sons of Mammon do, when they can look for such a golden harvest as this? They are clever, ingenious men, made able by practice; and they will set at defiance all the revenue regulations, all the custom-house regulations of Europe, if they can obtain such a profit as this. If you capture a slave ship, and it happens to be worth two or three thousand pounds, you are ready to say they will never do it again. But you forget that they have twenty such ships, and this is a mere accident, like the breaking of a rope or the tearing of a sail in the wind [hear, hear]. That is the way they look upon the capture, and again they set to work at the trade which is so profitable [hear, hear]. But it may be asked whether the powers of Europe are taking any steps to prevent this. We answer, that some of them are signing treaties, and some of them have broken all they have signed; some will not sign treaties, and they would not be worth the paper they were written on if they did [hear, hear]. Therefore France need not make so much ado about refusing to sign this treaty. The National board may induce the governors of that people to say, "We will not allow an English officer to search a French vessel." But really, if an English officer were allowed to do this, means enough would be taken to escape him, and the French flag would make its way from the English cruiser, with its cargo of slaves, to the distant port. We must look to the extinction of slavery, or no treaties can accomplish the destruction of the slave trade. But it will be asked, "How is it that those powers that refuse to allow transportation from Africa are not more on the alert?" Why, thousands and tens of thousands are shipped into the colonies of Europe with the knowledge of the functionaries residing there every year. Who are these powers? Why France, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden—all these nations have their colonies; and all these colonies have slaves; and slaves will be smuggled in for the purpose of securing the profit. In Cuba you have a range of coast of 4500 miles at least; and with a range of coast like this, with creeks and bays of every description, there is a facility for smuggling anything you please. A vessel comes from Africa; and, notwithstanding the treaties we have by which she is seizable, her cargo of slaves is landed and purchased. She does not run into the port of Rio; she only goes a little north, or a little south of it; and, the fishermen helping them, the cargo is entirely landed, and the vessel courses round with the Brazilian flag at her mast head, with all the impudence by which a slave vessel can be distinguished; and stopping at the custom house, says she has returned in ballast, and that after she has landed her slaves the preceding night—they know that at the custom house, but they get something for doing nothing in it. The slaves are taken into the country in this way. And when they are going in the waggons, something is thrown over to hide them. And why do they do this? Is it for fear they should be taken? No; but for fear the public functionary should see them, and he should want something more [hear, hear]. But if a public officer were to act efficiently, they would think nothing of meeting him with a pistol, or stabbing to the heart with a knife [hear, hear]. But what becomes of justice? Justice is no part of their moral attributes. Therefore let me remind this meeting that we have not to deal merely with the powers of Europe—with the public functionaries of Brazil—with the national character of those countries. Take the whole of the Brazilians, and ask them to do anything in the way of pure, unalloyed justice. They mean to do no such thing; they do not mean to follow up the treaties that would terminate the slave-trade. No; thousands and tens of thousands get into that country still, stolen and torn away from their own homes in Africa, in spite of all the treaties we have made. They will continue to do this, and for the reasons I have mentioned—the extensive profits derived from the traffic, the winking of public functionaries at the affair, and the want of moral feeling on the question throughout the whole mass of the community. All these things will make it perfectly hopeless to prevent any vessel carrying slaves from entering the Brazils. Such is the condition in the Brazils. Are we better in Cuba? By no means. All the remarks I have made will apply to Porto Rico, or any of the colonies where slavery is to be found. Tyranny likes slaves, and despots like the people to succumb; and you have to ask the tyrant to prevent slavery; you have to ask the despot to lift the people, to set them upright, and tell them to be men [hear, hear]. How long will you ask tyranny at home or abroad to do this? Never was tyranny known to meet such a demand, and it never will. What can we do to stop this plundering? The African plunderer may be supposed to carry two hundred thousand souls a year from their own home. That is done now; and all the cruelty that you heard of in our own islands, all the separations of females from their husbands, all the destruction of human life, all the expressions of passion on the part of tyranny amongst slaves like these, is going on among twice as many slaves as we held in our West India colonies. There they are, suffering, flogged, excoriated, peppered, as formerly practised in the West Indies. When the poor people are afflicted, upon the recollection of their own country, when in the mines or elsewhere, they suffer under nostalgia, or the diseases arising from it, and in despair eat the very dust of the ground. What is the plan to which their masters have recourse? They have a tin mask, which is placed over their heads, and so fastened round their necks that it cannot be removed [hear, hear]. They may look at the dust, while they are prevented from eating it. It is an expression

of sad despondency, and in these iron masks they must work for their tyrants. Every thing which we have been accustomed to hear in this hall about our own slaves, is going on now. You have only to call this to mind, with the additional cruelties I have now stated, practised in those countries less effected by British influence than our own planters were, bad as was their conduct; and I ask—is not this an awful state of things? If, then, we have touched slavery in our own territories, yet here it is in all its horrors; and will any one then say what is the use of an anti-slavery society [cheers]? Look at the influence which English wealth has on this grave traffic [hear, hear]. This assembly may be ready to tell me, that Englishmen have nothing to do with this; that our slaves have been emancipated. They are mistaken. After the South American republic cast off old Spain, mining speculations rose to a very high pitch, and many companies were formed in England, and large capitals were subscribed, and these mines are now in operation in the new Spanish republic, as well as in the empire of the Brazils. There are English agents employed in many cases, and some of these are British officers [hear, hear]. Yes, these mines are worked under the superintendence of English agents, who have carried her Majesty's commission, and are now receiving their half-pay [hear, hear, hear]. There they are, lashing these slaves, and the money comes back to the respectable merchants that are holding shares. This is the way the shares produce their dividends; and dividends arising from slavery are paid to gentlemen in this city, whose merchants are princes, and who in their gay equipages rival nobility in the grandeur of their display, whilst their poor slaves are eating the sand or, masked by iron, are prevented the degrading gratification. There is the Brazilian Imperial Mining Company, and many others, which float with English capital and English agency, and into these mines the new importations from Africa are carried, and there sold—there bought, and there worked to death to make way for another importation. Ah! has England nothing to do with the anti-slavery cause? It may be asked can we do nothing to stop this? you would suppose the law would catch them here; but does it? The consolidated slave act of our own country provides that any individual engaged in the slave-trade,—because the act was passed before slavery was abolished in the colonies—taken in it, within or without the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, they shall be punished in the one case by transportation for fourteen years, and in the other for life. But can you catch these men? They will say all my slaves are of the old class, they are not of recent importation; and this act is only against the slave trade, in this way we cannot get at them. You have thus another reason for the entire abolition of slavery, when you have chicanery of this kind to cover the delinquency. But it may be said that we can apply to her Majesty—that if we inform her that officers not in the full pay, but the half-pay of England, are engaged superintending foreign mines, where slavery is going on, and the slave-trade is practised, that surely according to the law of England, she will take their commission from them. Such applications have been made to her Majesty's government; and what was the answer? We are not in the habit of interfering with the private employment of officers on half-pay! [hear, hear]. But I know they are in the habit of interfering with them, when it touches themselves [hear, hear]. I could tell you of instances where they have dismissed officers on half-pay in connection with their private employment, but they were not connected with slavery [hear, hear]. This, then, is another reason for the total abolition of slavery. When from our government to the government of France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, down to the Brazils and South American republic, you can get nothing but chicanery, national winking, and overlooking the criminality going on, while Africa is losing, year after year, so many hundred thousand of her sons and British merchants are employing British capital in these minds, all your efforts to put down the slave-trade are in vain. There seems to be such a system connected with slavery, that unless you destroy it, root and branch, you will never eradicate it. All the vicious passions—all the illogical deductions—all the unprincipled feelings,—all the foul chicanery by which an intelligent people ought to feel themselves degraded, will be found to cluster until it blinds the eyes of those who ought to detect and expose it. But this is not all. We have Africa set upon, not only in the southern, the eastern, and the western parts, but we have the centre of Africa set upon by these bloodhounds, that take and sell, and buy, and work the poor slaves. In the interior of Africa there are Mahomedans—Moors, and those acting on the principles of the Koran cannot hold slaves, for that book forbids that they should be held. What do these Mahomedans do? Upwards of twenty millions of them are scattered through Africa, who apply themselves to the capture of the negro; and they have establishments for slaves just as they have establishments for camels, or other cattle. Some of these are made slaves in the interior, and others are carried away to be made slaves abroad. Nor is this all. The markets of Abyssinia are filled with slaves, who are carried through Egypt to the Asiatic market, and some of them as far as our own Indian territories. The poor Africans are seized on the coasts by the cupidity of the European customer. They are seized in the interior by the Mahomedan, and carried away by land; and the horrors of the middle passage are only equaled by the horrors of the desert, through which they are conducted to the Asiatic market. We know what this country has done for Turkey. We have refused to allow the integrity of that empire to be touched. In 1800 we gave many a man to preserve Egypt to Turkey. What have we done recently? We have directed our attention to Syria, and we have given that back to the Mahomedan power. Have we no influence in Turkey while we are acting thus? Does not Turkey feel that we have? Does she not feel her dependence upon us? Is she not our ally? Then we ought to press the government to work the great principles of humanity. When we go to help a poor enfeebled empire, what right have our government to give up everything that policy can give up to save the empire in its integrity, without demanding, at the same time, that this internal, infernal traffic shall for ever cease [hear, hear, and cheers]? These opportunities are lost because the public do not understand it. We understand it [cheers]. Tell the government, let it be whig or tory, blue or grey, orange or red [laughter], that they have no right to stir to the right hand, or to the left, without remembering that they are an anti-slavery government. Let them know that the great principles of freedom

have to do with every stroke of policy in which they may engage, and give them always to feel, that while they are moving in any direction among the nations of the earth, whether it be in Afghanistan or China, that whatever else they may be doing, they must be seeking the elevation of our race [loud cheers]. If British influence were thus used, slavery would soon pass away from our world, and we should find all the countries to which I referred deprived of the power of tampering with the slave-trade, because there would be no slavery. Let it be known that the moment an African landed on the shore of Brazil he can lift up his head like a man, when they ask him to work, and say, "What are your terms? What will you give me? What are your wages?" They tell him. "I will not work for you," he says; he goes somewhere else, and gets some other employment. If this were done there would be no stealing. They would not give their dollars for men on the one side of the Atlantic, if when they landed on the other they became free men. But it may be asked, have we anything more to do with slavery? Yes; there are goods manufactured in Manchester for the slave-market. They know very well how to buy and sell goods for the slave. Certain goods are made up in England of a quality known to be fit only for the slave-market. The gentlemen in England sending them out know that they go to buy slaves. They know that as well as you know that the money you give to the servant to go to the baker is intended to buy loaves [laughter and cheers]. They are sent to buy them of the chiefs, who have taken them from other chiefs in the interior. Cowrie shells are used for the same purpose. If you have any old muskets, or bad gunpowder, these are sent to buy slaves. Spirits are sent to buy them. Ships go out with cargoes worth almost nothing, and come back with slaves worth a large price, in all the colonies to which I have referred. They will make more by buying slaves than they could make by rearing his children. But it may be said, cannot the government compel them to register their slaves, and take an account of those who die? I have already shown you that no government can do anything, if the whole community are against them. This is the way the owners have done, and do still, wherever registration is insisted upon. The moment a slave is registered, that is, pnt upon the returns, it is thought the slave-trade is at an end; and that as no fresh supply can be obtained, the theory is, that he will take care of those already under his control. But when the cargo comes in, he will take one and another, and place them in the room of those whom he has worked to death; and he will swear that these are the men whom he had put on the register. If it should be said that we do not know how many slaves are brought from Africa, and that our numbers are exaggerated, I reply that we have many ways in which we can ascertain it. We have reports from commissioners that have been appointed; we have reports from the consuls of the countries to which I have referred; we have the quantity of slave goods—coast goods as they are called, but I am giving the translation of the word—that are exported; and taking all these things together, along with private intelligence, we feel no difficulty about ascertaining the number of slaves exported from Africa. If we say, taking Africa round and round, and going into the interior, 300,000 people are carried off annually, we shall not go too far [hear, hear]. They are sometimes suffocated between the decks; sometimes they are landed without a rag to cover them, and the persons who are detected have the impudence to say that they are emigrants, or passengers [hear, hear]. I was anxious that the meeting should understand foreign slavery, as it exists throughout the earth, in order that they may take their own stand against so nefarious a traffic. The resolution which I am about to move directs your attention to all the topics which I have noticed. I cannot take it up phrase by phrase, or sentence by sentence, and therefore I must satisfy myself with this general review of its topics. There is, however, one point of it, on which I would just make a remark: that is the point that alludes to a committee now sitting, and making inquiries about the propriety of bringing the Africans as emigrants, and free men, to work in the colonies. I trust the meeting will accept this part of the resolution, by denouncing such a scheme. Go to the coast of Africa, and ask the people to emigrate, to come to work; they do not understand you; they know nothing about your work; they know nothing about your country. Men are brought down from the interior by chiefs, by a banditti, who know as little about your country, as you do of the countries in the moon (laughter). If you tell them they are going to the moon they are ignorant enough to believe it. Talk of making a bargain with them, you may as well make a bargain with the camels; not because they are incapable of understanding, but they know nothing about it. They want the old system in the West Indies again [hear, hear]. They will be driven down in flocks; they will be shipped as workmen; they will come under the cruelties of the middle passage; they must pass through all the sufferings experienced in the old slave trade; and when they are landed there is no one who can speak to them. How can they tell the governor where they proceeded from? and if they could, the super-cargo would say it was a falsehood. What is to be done? They say that you cannot prevent emigration. Look at your own country. Let a man stand on the quays and attempt to bargain with them; and who will say that that can be done with the poor people on the coast of Africa? There is no man that will dare to tell us that there is any parallel. I hold that, if we find men in a condition of barbarism, we must not let them remain in ignorance, but treat them according to the state in which we find them. Africa is too ignorant to suffer it to be permitted to come forward for a moment, and offer pretended workmen as emigrants. First let the people be enlightened, and then we will have them to make a bargain [cheers]. Let the people of this country, who plead so strangely for emigration from Africa, take the native population in hand, school them up, and then when they have taught the people, let a British vessel arrive at Fernando Po, or anywhere else you please; let a number of healthy blacks come into the boats, and demand where you are going to take them, for what you want them, what is the amount of wages you propose to give, where is the security for its payment? Let it come to that, and then let the legislature say, "We cannot interfere with freedom." These people have no freedom, they do not know what it is, and we must teach them. Do not let it be supposed that I ran down the intellect of the coloured population. No; I am about to be seconded by M. L'Instant, a gentleman who has studied in France, and who has gained a prize for an essay on

"The best Means of abolishing the Prejudices of the White against the Men of Colour." He has carried away the palm against all the intelligence and ingenuity of France, though the work was in their own language [cheers]. Here a man of colour comes forward to assert the equality of his race; to take his stand in the most polished capital of Europe, and to show that any objection to the black man or to the coloured man must have its ground in ignorant prejudice.

M. L'INSTANT, from Hayti, said—I rise to second the resolution. As a citizen of Hayti, I think it is my duty to make my voice heard, in a meeting, the object of which is the abolition of slavery throughout the world. As a man I think it is my duty to protest against the system, which reduces man to the condition of a beast of burden. As Christians we are all brethren, because we are all children of God.

The Rev. W. G. BARRETT in supporting the resolution said, I feel it to be a privilege to say a word on this occasion, and to speak upon one subject which has not been particularly alluded to by any of the preceding speakers, although I have no doubt the Rev. Mr Knibb who is to succeed me, will enter more fully into it. That subject is the alleged non-working of the free system in Jamaica. I read with the greatest attention, the speech of the noble Secretary for the colonies, delivered on the evening of March 22nd; and when I read the first part of it, I thought that the most ardent abolitionists could not have pleaded the cause of the world's freedom, more powerfully than did his lordship. To use his lordship's own words, he said, "That the results of emancipation had far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its most ardent advocate." But whilst his lordship stated this, he told us that beneficial as the results of freedom had been, to the down-trodden negro, who was now settled in liberty, to the planters it had been ruin, and that the produce of the estates was much fallen off, and would continue to fall off year after year, "small by degrees and miserably less;" and unless the legislature took some steps to provide for the evil, inevitable ruin must be the result. I ask when our West Indian proprietors are going to be satisfied. Their watchword has been ruin ever since I have had any recollection. When the inhuman traffic in slaves was about to be destroyed, they told us that their estates would be ruined; but they still continued to flourish, and the absent proprietors in Belgrave and Portman squares, rolled in luxury, although you had cast off the supply of slaves. When we were about to abolish slavery, and Lord Stanley introduced the modified form of apprenticeship, the West Indian planters told us again that they were going to be ruined, and confusion worse confounded, they rose and demanded from a high minded and generous people, the payment of 20 millions sterling, as a bribe, a subsidy, before they would let their oppressed slaves go free. And now in a time of commercial distress, the direst and most unexampled, when the prime minister to meet the exigency is obliged to bring forward a new tariff, and adopt a variety of expedients, the West Indian proprietors, these same modest men come and demand, after we have paid the 20 millions to relieve them of the dead weight of slavery, that we shall provide them with labourers from Africa [cheers]. The fact is, there is no want of labour in the West Indies, but there is a lack of something else—there is a deficiency of capital [hear, hear]. There has been a most lavish and shameful expenditure, occasioned by overseers and attorneys; and another cause is the absorbing of so large an amount of the annual amount in support of the establishment [hear, hear]. These two things occasioned the want of capital, and yet the evil we are told arises from the lack of labour. A large planting attorney assured me that he could obtain more hands than he could employ, what he wanted was capital. They tell us that the present state of things is the negro's fault; but that is not the fact; the blame rests upon the head of those who have so long endeavoured to uphold so sinful a state of things [cheers]. If the produce had fallen off, and the free system had not worked, it would have been their own fault. Mr Burnet correctly remarked that justice was no part of a slave-holder's attributes; and I may add, that common sense is no part of them [cheers]. Immediately after freedom, the overseer of some property in my neighbourhood, wrote me a letter requesting me to come over and make an arrangement with the labourers; as he earnestly requested it, I agreed to do so, for the people would make no arrangement, unless their minister was with them to see that all was fair and square. I still retain possession of the overseer's note. We went all over the property; we went into every house, and placed a value upon each. I then addressed the labourers, who said they were willing to abide by my decision. The regulations were simple. I determined that the questions of rent and wages should be kept distinct; and that the freemen should have the liberty of taking their labour to whatever market they pleased, and selling it for the highest price. The regulations were these;—that the people should have their houses and grounds for one year certain, upon a rent then to be fixed. At the end of the year, if the attorney wished them to leave, he was to give them three month's notice; and the people agreed that if they wished to leave they were to give 3 months' notice. The rent to be agreed upon was to be paid on the last Saturday in every month. This was settled, and the agreement was signed by the attorney and myself on behalf of the people. I then said to him, "Mr Lee, so strong is my confidence in the people, that I will undertake to pay you the rents for all the houses; I know the people will pay it to me, and therefore I will pay it to you." I did so, because I wanted to see one estate setting an example of good order. The agreement lasted two days [laughter]; when I received a note, saying that Mr So-and-So, the attorney of another property, advised him not to keep to the agreement unless the people would bind themselves to work for him, and for no one else, for a year certain [laughter]. I knew that if they bound themselves to him, he would have ground down their wages to the starving point [hear, hear]. The people came in confusion and said, "What this mean? The Buckra people always take too much of we. If he take paper back again, is not we off bargain too" [laughter and cheers]? I said, "To be sure you are." It so happened that at that very time there was a lot of land to be sold, consisting of 138 acres, immediately adjoining the property. I bought it, and had it divided into lots; every man belonging to that property took a part of the land, and were located upon their own freehold [cheers]. I was blamed for this, and it was said that I had unduly interfered; but I never interposed except at the overseer's request. It is true there was, for some time, a withdrawal of the usual amount of labour; but it arose from the people working on their own land, and

building their own houses. But whose fault was it? The people would have stopped and worked, had they received proper wages. They were, however, driven from the property, because common sense forms no portion of the attributes of a slave-holder.

The resolution was then put and carried.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., rose to move—

"That this meeting regards with deep interest the enlightened efforts and noble sacrifices of the abolitionists of the United States of America in the sacred cause of human freedom; and whilst it sympathises with them in their struggles, heartily rejoices in the more extensive prevalence, and in the certain, and not far distant, triumph of their principles; and publicly renews the offer of its warm and steady co-operation.

"That this meeting rejoices in the restoration of the Amistad captives to their native land, through the zealous and Christian exertions of the friends of humanity and freedom, and in the triumph of law over despotism; that it equally rejoices in the escape of the slaves of the Creole from a cruel and interminable bondage in the slave states of America, by seeking refuge in a British colony; and would record its high approbation of the noble sentiments of the great legal authorities of this country on the subject, and the prompt decision of the government in ordering the release of those in custody.

"That this meeting feels assured the British government will utterly and for ever repudiate any and all demands that may be made upon it for the restoration of the Creole negroes, and all other slaves who may have sought refuge within its territories; or for compensation to their oppressors for their loss.

"That, renewing its decided protest against the recognition of Texas by the government of this country, as deeply affecting the liberty and happiness of mankind, this meeting views the renewed project of its annexation to the United States as involving the questions of peace and war between nations now at amity—the introduction of slavery into countries not now subject to its curse—and the increased preponderance of the slaveholding party in the government of the great North American republic; and earnestly calls upon the philanthropists of that country to use their most active and persevering exertions to prevent a calamity so fatal in its consequences to the welfare of mankind.

"That this meeting further rejoices to learn the progress of the anti-slavery cause on the continent of Europe, and trusts that the number and power of its advocates will rapidly increase, until the governments under which they live, shall no longer be able to resist their influence, and shall, without an exception, decree the extinction of slavery in the various countries and dependencies subject to their control; and, finally, that this meeting cordially invites the correspondence and co-operation of the friends of freedom throughout the world with this society, in carrying its great design speedily and peacefully into execution."

I rise under peculiar disadvantages, for it was intended that the Lord Mayor of Dublin should have seconded this resolution. I think it, however, due to him to state that I am satisfied nothing but urgent business in Dublin would have prevented him from being present. As I visited America last year, principally on an anti-slavery mission, I will make a few observations in reference to it. I am glad that I shall speak in the presence of Americans; and if I should make any statements that are inaccurate, they will, I trust, correct me. If I had ever doubted the justice of the principles on which this society is established, my visit to America would have removed them. Not only is it entirely hopeless to attempt to abolish the slave trade without the abolition of slavery, but it is our duty as wise politicians, as well as Christians, to seek that great end only by moral, religious, and pacific means. But perhaps there was no subject with which I was more strongly impressed in my visit there, than the absurd idea of attempting to distinguish between the guilt of the slave-holder and that of the slave-trader [hear, hear, and cheers]. The first establishment for carrying on the slave trade I visited was almost in the centre of the city of Baltimore. I visited it in open day; and I should have scorned to have made any concealment of who I was [cheers]. I was very courteously shown over the building, and I was assured by the proprietor that he bought slaves from more severe masters to transfer them to others less severe [laughter]; that slaves often came and asked him to buy them; and he advanced arguments that I could not answer to show that the slave-trader was not more guilty than the slave-holder. I went directly from that establishment to the triennial meeting of the Baptist board of missions, which was then being held. When I entered the large meeting-house, the subject before them was the ballot for officers for the next three years. I knew before I went that it was intended by the convention to displace our friend Elon Galusha, as one of the vice-presidents of the American Baptist Missionary society, because he had attended the convention in London, and supported a resolution which affirmed that slave-holders ought not to be received as members of Christian churches [hear, hear]. The principal person who spoke in favour of the ejection of Elon Galusha was a minister very celebrated in the south, but who held one hundred slaves himself. When the ballot was taken, our friend was rejected by 124 against 117. It is not for us to decide—it is known only to Him to whom the secrets of all hearts are unfolded—who is the most guilty, the hundred and twenty-four ministers, or members of religious churches, or the slave-dealer [hear, hear] whom I had just left in the den where human beings were sold as beasts of the field I know this is strong language, but I wish things to be seen in their true light. Do not for a moment suppose that the baptists are worse than other denominations. I believe that in a convention of any other denomination of Christians, except those who have wiped their hands of the system, there would not have been so many votes in favour of Elon Galusha [hear, hear]. And the decision was considered a moral triumph, as compared with the state of feeling at an earlier period. The next slave-trading establishment I visited was at Alexandria. Among the victims of the traffic, I here met with a woman and nine children, who had been sold from her husband. Now, I put it to any one here whether the planter, who derived a benefit from the uncompensated toil of this poor woman and children, was less guilty than the slave trader who bought them to send to New Orleans. The next establishment I visited was in the city of Washington, and so near the House of Representatives, that within half an hour after talking with Henry Clay in the Senate, I was within the slave-trader's establishment. I was also within sight of the President's house, and he is himself a slave-holder [hear, hear]. In conversation with the person who kept this establishment, he significantly remarked, he could not see any difference between a slave-holder and a slave-trader. With such scenes around me, I could not answer that he was more guilty than they. I think it is of importance, for the sake of humanity, that the system should be considered as one and the same. I rather think I was the very first person who went into the southern slaveholding estates avowedly, and openly, as a professed abolitionist [cheers]. Some of my friends thought I ran a little risk in so doing, and perhaps I might, if I had not been rapid in my movements [great laughter]. But in addition to that, the guilty are always cowards. When I was in one of these establishments, and one of my friends turned round and said, "That is an English abolitionist," the man looked more

afraid of me than I was of him [laughter]. We also distributed some books on the subject; and the other day I received a letter from a friend, of which the following is a short extract:—"Charles T. Torrey has been tried as an *incendiary* in Maryland, and acquitted on the ground that he had *not* distributed anti-slavery publications in the state. Thou and I narrowly escaped a ten years' sojourn in the Maryland penitentiary for distributing books, &c., in Baltimore. I should scarcely risk it again." I wish to make one remark or two with regard to Texas [hear, hear]. It is a fearful question, and I cannot now go fully into it; but I will state that there is no abolitionist in America, or an enlightened politician, who is not aware that the great object in establishing the republic of Texas is to open a new slave market for the southern states. Mexico had abolished slavery in her dominions, of which Texas formed a part. The slaveholder has gone across the border, and again set up slavery. That is the simple fact, one which I trust our friends will bear in mind, for I know that great pains are taken to deceive the public mind on this point. There are, however, many encouraging indications with reference to America. The anti-slavery friends there have organized what is called the third or liberal party. The object is to put up a candidate in all the free states at every election, from the president down to a constable [cheers]. I think I am safe in saying, that the votes of 1841, as compared with those of 1840, for anti-slavery candidates, were on an average nearly as three to one in their favour [cheers]. I have also the pleasure of stating, that in the city of New York they have abolished the nine months' act. That act was this; that any slave-holder coming from the south to that city with a slave as a personal attendant, if with the slave's consent, might detain that slave for nine months, and then take him back. It was, however, determined by a majority, I think, of fifty-three to forty-nine, in the lower house, and by a still greater majority in the upper house, that a slave thus brought by his master should be free [cheers]. I was told that, if it had been proposed two years ago, that they did not think ten votes could have been obtained [hear, hear]. There was another pleasing circumstance. I was present at a meeting in New York which was attended by the negroes released from the Amistad. The price of admission was half a dollar, but there were 1500 persons present. Some of these negroes came forward, and I am happy to say that they had made great progress in the English language, and had you taken men from any part of any country, they would not have shown more intellect. I was told that had such an exhibition taken place some years before, it would have caused a popular outbreak [hear, hear]. Another pleasing circumstance has also just taken place. An anti-slavery member of the congress brought forward some resolutions affirming the propriety of the conduct of the British government in reference to the Creole. The slave-holders and their supporters carried a resolution of censure upon him, and the consequence was he resigned his seat, and went back to his constituents in Ohio; and I am assured there is every reason to suppose that his constituents will send him back with a still larger majority [cheers]. But while condemning America, "Let him who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." When I was in the West Indies, I found that some of the most severe slave holders had received a religious education in Scotland [hear, hear]. In coming across the Atlantic the other day, one of my fellow passengers a Scotchman—a high religious professor—had become a holder of slaves. He spoke of the liberality with which they paid their ministers. But when I asked him if ministers were faithful enough to preach against the sin of slavery, he replied, "Oh, no" [hear, hear]. On asking him whether he had ever bought and sold slaves. He acknowledged that he had. Whoever it may offend, I should say, with reference to the directors of mining companies, and I will mention one—the Imperial Mining Association, in which slaves are employed, that I consider them as guilty as the despised slave-dealers whom I saw in America [hear, hear]. We must confess these things in high places before we put down the evil [cheers]. If Daniel O'Connell had been present I would have asked him a question. He and Theobald Matthew, with 60,000 of their countrymen, signed an appeal to the Irish people in America, to join the anti-slavery ranks. I am told that the authenticity of his signature has been denied, and I should like to have ascertained it. Some Irishmen, when they get on the other side the Atlantic, are the most prejudiced against colour, and join the pro-slavery ranks [hear, hear]. I beg of my young friends to join me in promoting, by every means in their power, the abolition of slavery throughout the world; and not only so, but every kind of oppression in this country [cheers]. I do not wish to touch upon any matter not legitimately connected with the subject. But we have systems in this country closely bordering on slavery; and I have feared there was something of a pro-slavery feeling from which even abolitionists were not always exempt, that censured the working class and their advocates when demanding only their just and equal rights. I can cordially unite in the sentiment of one of our poets, when he says,

"'Tis Liberty alone that gives the flower,  
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume,  
And we are weeds without it."

[cheers]. I can hardly sit down without very briefly noticing a remark which fell from Sir George Strickland. I wish I could have joined in the sentiment—that England, all over the world, now and at other times, retained her power by her moral influence. I would not have alluded to the subject, but from what was before said I put it to the candid mind of any, whether the war in Afghanistan and China does not represent this country as anything rather than Christian [cheers]. But I am one of those who look to the bright side of the picture; and I yet hope that we shall live to see the day, that wherever England's power is felt mankind shall feel her mercy too [loud cheers].

The Rev. E. MILLER (of Rotterdam) in seconding the resolution said, This is a cause in which I have ever felt deeply interested. Can that individual who does not feel interested in it be loving his fellow creatures as he loves himself? Is he not disobeying the law of his Maker if he does not regard those who are in circumstances of distress as peculiarly the objects of his compassion and sympathy? Your efforts, however, will be required to put down slavery in the eastern part of the British empire, for until you have done that it will not become you to boast even of your past efforts [hear, hear]. In Holland the cause of immediate emancipation is progressing: of this I am fully persuaded. A committee was formed in Rotterdam a year

and a half or two years ago, of which I am a member. There were also anti-slavery societies formed in Amsterdam, in the Hague, in Utrecht, and in Leyden, and they are desirous of uniting with each other in carrying out their object [hear, hear], and effecting the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. In Holland we must ask permission to form a society even for benevolent or religious purposes, and we have petitioned the king to allow the consolidation of these anti-slavery societies. I have every reason to believe that the prayer of the petition will be granted [applause], for I have ground for believing that the king desires the emancipation of the slaves in his colonies. The number of slaves in Surinam is 60,000; and the number in Java belonging to Holland about 1500 [hear, hear].

Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM in supporting the resolution said, I am one of a few individuals who have seen the working of the slave system in the West Indies, I have also seen it in the East Indies, and examined it in the southern states of America. Having seen it in all these parts, I feel bound to declare that there is no difference between slavery as it existed in the West Indies and that which prevails in our East India possessions [hear, hear]. I hope my testimony will be received in confirmation of that of Judge Baber. But the most important point is the kind of remedy to be applied. There are two modes. The one governmental, the other belonging to the community. The government is all powerful, and could at any time cause slavery and the slave trade to cease. Let it withhold its countenance from every nation in which these evils exist. But there is one point within our own province—I refer to the East. The charter granted to the East India Company gives them the power of abolishing it, but that charter has remained a dead letter. The idea of the Company removing the evil is most delusive. What I ask is, that the people should do it? The complexion of a government depends on the House of Commons, and the complexion of the House of Commons depends on the community. I ask the community to take care when the next election occurs to pledge the members to vote for the alleviation of the miseries of the inhabitants of Hindostan [cheers].

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

The Rev. W. KNIBB then rose, and was received with reiterated bursts of applause. He moved:—

"That this meeting feels that it has not only cause for devout gratitude to the Most High, that the act for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies was carried into effect under circumstances which reflected the greatest honour on the negroes delivered from bondage thereby; but for warm congratulation that it has been followed by a rapid and vast improvement in their physical and moral condition; and that, if not interfered with by unjust legislation, by the partial administration of justice, and by the schemes of interested and unprincipled men, it cannot fail to result in the increased and permanent prosperity of these colonies, and greatly to advance the interests of the mother country.

"That this meeting, whilst sincerely desirous that the best interests of the proprietary body of the colonies may be advanced by all fair and legitimate means—will continue to oppose all schemes of theirs at variance with justice and humanity, all laws oppressive in their character, and all practices designed to coerce labour under a state of freedom.

"That, grateful for past success, this meeting desires afresh to commend the anti-slavery efforts to the divine blessing, and exhorts its supporters everywhere to increased activity in this righteous cause."

If there was one sentiment that fell with a more deadening sound on my ear than another, in the whole of this discussion, to which I have listened with much attention, it was the one that fell from the lips of Dr Lushington [cheers], when he asserted that in the English House of Commons, slavery palled upon their taste. I thought that a severer rebuke, or one more calculated to sink that legislative body in the esteem of the wise and the just, could not by possibility have been uttered. I most earnestly hope that that legislative body, if they wish to have the respect of those whose respect is worth obtaining, will by some act of theirs show that if that rebuke in past days, or even now, is just, it will no longer attach to it. I should almost feel disgraced in hearing the name of a Briton, if I could believe that because there was something to be done for the miseries, the woes, the tears, and the blood of men—not for its removal, but because it was implored to be removed, it was a palling subject [hear, hear]. I sincerely trust that if this be the case, the people of England will show, that they are not contented with such a state of things (cheers). For myself, I have little hope from anything except it be from Christian effort. I know perfectly well, from a residence of seventeen years in a slave colony, that everything that is not based on the principles of this society, will most assuredly fail. If, however, we can but obtain the concurrent effort of those who feel interested, not merely in the freedom of earth, but in freedom eternal in the skies; soon the last despot shall lift his hand, and the last slave shall be free [loud cheers]. I did intend to remove the impression from this meeting, if the impression does still exist, that the want of that sweet article, sugar, is not to be ascribed, as has been asserted by honourable persons in public prints, to a disposition in the minds of the labourers, not to work except for exorbitant wages. For the last two days I have spent my time in going through the statements upon that subject given by slave-owners themselves. I assert, and I defy contradiction, that the negroes work for a less sum than their masters said they ought to work for. If I could not prove this by a reference to evidence given in the house of Commons by Jamaica planters—if I could not prove it by the records of all the courts where valuations were made and sworn to on oath by the planters—if I could not prove this by every official document which has reached this country, I would submit to all the degradation of pronouncing that which was false. If, then, this is the case, and such it is—if the same amount of labour is now performed by the negro for £3 8s. which the planters themselves deposited upon oath they never could get, and never wished to get, under £4 10s., then I say that I have proved that which I had asserted. I have taken the hardest, the most difficult of the whole of the plantations—I have taken the plantation of R. Scott, Esq., because his property is in the parish where I live; he asserted in the house of Commons that when they paid job labour in the island of Jamaica, they always paid £7 10s. currency per acre for digging the cane holes; and that it would not be considered dear if it was done at £10 old money, which is £6 sterling. Now I can prove that what the negro demands for digging 2800 cane holes, which is the number in an acre, is not £6 sterling, but £3 8s. [loud cheers]. However, I am well aware that there are other circumstances connected with this discussion than that to which I have referred. But as the demand in the house of Commons for emigration proceeds upon the principle that work on fair and legitimate terms cannot be obtained, I have thought it right, and still think it right, to assure you

that from the last documentary evidence that has been presented to parliament, I could cull from all the special magistrates' reports, without one exception, a confirmation of this truth. The fact is, it is not because the people do not wish to work that the present state of things exists, but because the masters have no money to pay. I wish those who are interested in West India property would just come and see for themselves. I wish they would see what reductions might be made, not in the poor man's wages, but in the costly expenditure connected with the old slave system. There might be a reduction in a great many things to which I could refer; but it is not my business to take care of the slave owners' property. It is my duty—a duty devolved upon me by the position in which I stand, to take care that the poor man is not cheated, and I intend to take care of him [loud cheers]. I should like to have referred to that rapid and growing intelligence, combined with industry, sobriety, and honesty, which is working in all its loveliness throughout the island of Jamaica. But I am fearful that a just description of this would be considered romance and fancy. Allow me, however, to read one extract from a letter, sent to Sir Charles Metcalfe by a special magistrate:—"If it were possible adequately to describe the rapid improvements which have taken place, and the wonderfully ameliorated condition of society generally since the advent of freedom, the readers at a distance might be disposed to ascribe even a faithful representation to an attempt to practice on their credulity" [cheers]. If such statements as these are presented to his Excellency the governor—if they have received the official stamp of government—if the whole returns testify that for fair and equal wages the negroes are disposed to work, I do implore this respectable assembly not to allow our souls to be harrowed up by the bloody and murderous system of European emigration. I have witnessed scenes with respect to this which I shall never forget. I have seated myself by the side of a poor deluded Irish emigrant, though of a different religion to myself, and in the absence of one whom he considered his only spiritual guide, he was glad to receive temporal and spiritual consolations from myself. I have stood by his side when in the deepest depths of poverty, joined to despair, and on a bed covered with rags he has breathed his last; a dupe to this infernal scheme. In circumstances which I could not mention to this respectable audience, have the victims of this accursed plan been hurried into eternity. I declare, without the least fear of being contradicted—and if the House of Commons think that I cannot prove, let them call me as a witness to their bar [loud cheers]—I declare that there have been scenes in Jamaica, within the last two years, unequalled in atrocity by all those abominations connected with the foreign slave trade. I say this, not on account of the numerical number; but when I think of the manner in which these poor deluded people came; when I think that comfort was the lot of some before they left their houses, and I have stood by their bed sides where poverty, disease, and starvation have combined to hurry them from the world—when I have seen the misery, and the last gasp of breath, and have had the office of consigning them to the tomb—I implore on behalf of Ireland that she be rescued from a system which entails misery on all who go, and must bring down the just judgment of God [hear, hear]. So convinced was Sir C. Metcalfe of this, that at his request I interfered. I know his Excellency thought I could not prove what I had asserted with respect to our estate: but an investigation was ordered. Mr Kelly, a special magistrate, was invited to Spanish Town and his evidence was taken, but it was so abominably filthy that it was suppressed. I have it, however, and the world shall have it too [hear, hear]. If it be necessary to state how I obtained it, that shall be done; for on that subject I care for no individual that breathes on earth [cheers]. It was but the other day that I went to one of the gaols, in Jamaica. I dare say a great many people will say I had no business there [laughter]. I have business everywhere where tyranny dwells [cheers]. I saw in that gaol a poor Irish girl, seventeen years of age, fed upon the coarsest corn meal, without coffee or tea, or anything but water. Seeing her there, I inquired what was her crime—she told me that she had been hired by Mr Leighton at £8 per year, and that her food was to be found her; when he had taken her seventeen miles up the country, he told her that he would only give her £6. She was one of the unfortunate victims who went out in the David Kerr. For refusing to work for six pounds, what did the chief magistrate do? He called two of his brother magistrates into his house to dine; and after dinner they held a court in his house, and sentenced this poor Irish girl, who had not been in the island three weeks, to pay a fine of three pounds, or, in default of finding goods upon which it could be levied, to imprisonment for fourteen days [loud cries of hear, hear]. The moment I saw her I said, "I will pay the money, and you come out" [loud cheers]. That poor girl had been walked barefooted seventeen miles under a burning sun to gaol, in which she was placed for fourteen days in the midst of a deadly morass. I had her taken care of in the mission-house. I said to the gaoler, "Give me a copy of her commitment." He replied, "I dare not do it. What would the magistrate say?" I answered, "I don't care whether you durst or not; but you shall know that every person has a right to a copy of their commitment, and I demand it in behalf of this poor girl [loud cheers]. And here it is. "Whereas Eliza Kennedy, an immigrant located on retirement, the property of Thomas Ricketts Hylton, Esq., has been convicted before us, David Mason, sen., and David Mason, jun., Esqs., two of her Majesty's justices of the peace for the parish of Westmoreland, of refusing [mind how logical they are] to do the duty she had agreed upon to perform to the said Thomas Ricketts Hylton, and has been sentenced to pay a fine of three pounds sterling, or, in default of goods to levy upon, to fifteen days in the house of correction, agreeable to the act to encourage immigrants thereon provided [loud laughter]. And whereas no goods to levy on have been found. These are in her Ma'e ty's name, &c." I thought my first duty was to tell the governor about this. I wrote to Daniel O'Connell, but I think the post-office stopped the letter, you shall have the governor's reply—"Sir, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ult. Enquiry will be made into the circumstances of the case therein reported, and pending receipt of the result, the governor suspends his judgment on the conduct of the parties concerned. But whatever the causes may have been, his excellency deeply laments that a young female immediately after her arrival in this island, should have been subjected to a fine which she could not be expected to pay, and to the consequent

degradation and danger of imprisonment. He requests you to accept his thanks for your generous interference in paying the fine, and rescuing the unfortunate prisoner from confinement, and begs leave to transmit herewith the amount of the expense which he understands you to have incurred upon that occasion" [loud cheers]. I say, honour to whom honour is due [renewed cheering]; and I shall feel pleasure in referring more than once to the kindness the governor has manifested to these poor deluded creatures. I only regret that in the last despatch on leaving the colony, he has still recommended, under certain conditions, a new trial of this emigration scheme; and if he had not done this, if the whole of his official weight had not been thrown into the scale, I should not have stated some circumstances which duty now compels me to lay before you. I have here an account of emigration to different parishes. I wish you to understand that I have been there; mine is no hear-say evidence; that I have gone to the bed side of these poor victims, and I have endeavoured to smooth the passage to the tomb. On Hyde Hall estate, between March and July, 21 emigrants arrived, six with wives and children, the rest single men; in November, the same year, 12 of the men and women were dead, 3 of the children were dead, 6 of the widows and orphans were shipped by the kindness of an individual for America, 5 were in the hospital, and 3 remained fit to work. On the 19th of April, 4 persons from Ireland were situated at Glamorgan, and these estates are not on the plain, they are in the mountain—the man, the woman, and their children were dead by the 10th of June. The other day I went to another estate at Eddington; I saw on that estate to the windward of Dundee two Irish families from London. On one bed, without a rag to cover them, lay the father vomiting blood, on the same bed lay 2 children—I four, the other two years of age; in a corner of the room lay a girl of fourteen, ill with ague and fevers and the mother had not a farthing to support any of them [loud cries of hear, hear]. In the next room, which I visited after having prayed with this poor Irishman, and done something else for him, for it is of no use to attend to the soul if you do not take care of the body [hear, hear]—I saw another Irishman on his death-bed. I wrote to the governor, telling him that the only alternative was the removal of the survivors back to England or their death. The governor wrote back, and I have his letter—it is to this effect, "If these are the only means, take a passage for the whole, and I will pay the expense let it be what it may [loud cheers]." I returned to these poor people with the joyful tidings, but though a vessel was to sail in ten days, three of the parents were dead, and two of the children! There were three orphans which I sent in a jaunting car to my own house; one died before it had been there six hours, the other two are in Normal school, and they're supported by his excellency Sir Charles Metcalf; here is the letter in which he sent me the money:—"Sir, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter," says the secretary, "of the 8th inst., and to transmit herewith a check for £30, being the amount stated to be sufficient for the board and education of three orphan children for one year." One is dead; I told the governor there were plenty of others, and I should soon find one. I aver that I can prove that the Irish emigrants have not only been deceived, but starved to death; I aver that I can prove that a mother has lain with her two children beside her, one ten years of age, and the other an infant dying at the breast, while her other daughter has been weeping over the putrid remains. I aver I can prove that my poor fellow creatures are subsisting on what is called Spanish needles, what is given to feed rabbits mixed with water; that starvation, trickery, spoliation, and death is the result of this accursed new slave-trade. I speak strongly, because I have a right so to speak [cheers]. A body of these poor Irishmen came to me—and our pockets ought to be fuller than baptists' pockets usually are, to supply all the demands that are made, and implored me to do something for them. "What can I do?" "Oh, get us out of this country." Another poor man said, "I will walk a mile on my knees to thank you, if you can get me out of this place." A woman who landed in 1835, assured us that she came out with 150 emigrants, 20 of whom returned home, and all the rest were dead. Let those who are carrying on this plot, in reference to the West Indies, hear these facts; they certainly shall hear them through the public [cheers]. I would implore that a ship be immediately freighted by the British government (it cannot be better employed) to fetch home these emigrants. Let them throw their guns overboard, and put up hammocks for the dying. I hope there are spirits in this country that will assist me in carrying out this object. I hoped that Daniel O'Connell would have been here, and I would have asked his aid on behalf of his countrymen. There are a few withered creatures left—there are a few orphans and widows, and I implore that no time be lost in fetching them home again. I am sure that if you could see them, you would not want the eloquence of Dan. O'Connell to convince you of the atrocity of European emigration. Emigration even from Africa, though it may not be quite so fatal in its effects, will be quite as abominable in its principles [hear, hear]. My hope is that they will not be able to obtain emigrants from Africa, and if I had nothing else to do, I would go there for the very purpose of telling them not to come [cheers]. I am happy to tell you that the last ship that came from Africa, came in ballast, no emigrant would accompany her [cheers]. Perhaps some will say how do you find these things out? Why, we make it our business [laughter and cheers]. They have told us they have been grossly deceived, and they will not work for the paltry wages offered them. Is eighteen pence a day too much to toil twelve hours under a burning sun? Some will inquire, how is it that sum enables them to supply themselves with so many comforts? Read the official reports, and you will find it is that numbers have joined the temperance society [cheers]. They will drink no rum, and many never taste animal food, except salt fish may be called so. It is because they occupy their spare time in the cultivation of their own land, and in rearing fowls and other things for the market. It is not because they obtain exorbitant wages. The emigration from America is just as bad as from other parts. The coloured individuals that came from thence were all dead in twelve months [hear, hear]. But leaving that subject, let me speak of some of the results of emancipation, more especially with respect to the freehold. Take St. Thomas in the Vale for one year, and also take Manchester. There is nothing like statistical facts, because they hit hard [cheers]. I rejoice to speak of Manchester, because it

is one of the parishes where the agents of the London Missionary society have been most successful [hear, hear]. In that parish, in the year 1838, there were 438 tax payers—you remember that was the year in which freedom was given. In 1841 there were 1866 tax payers. So that in that parish alone the labouring population have realised sufficient property in three years to make 1,428 additional tax payers. In the western unions alone—and I now refer to those who attend the congregations of baptist ministers, since the advent of freedom 3,070 have purchased land, and paid for it 33,0137. sterling; 1,683 have erected houses, and have paid for them 48,127. sterling. Were it necessary, which it is not, I could detain you for hours with statements of this kind. But I dare not conclude without reiterating the earnest cry from dying, starving emigrants in Jamaica, that yet suffer in that climate; could you see them as I have beheld them, heart-broken, dying, and dead, you would implore her Majesty's government not to let a month pass without sending a vessel to bring the deluded victims back to the land of their fathers. Think you we are afraid of them competing with the negro? No; nor does the negro himself. He treats them kindly. One of my brethren saw, the other day, a deacon of his own church walking on the road-side, and a poor Irish emigrant was riding on a horse; his minister asked him how that came to pass; his deacon replied, "I saw him lying under a tree starving; I got off my horse and put him on; and I am walking by his side, to take him home and give him something to eat [cheers]." I ask you whether he could have done more [hear, hear]? I ask you if a black man would have been so treated, if he had come to reduce wages here? No Irishman has perished because the black man would not, to the utmost of his ability, prevent it [cheers]. I ask the meeting not to allow the government to be palmed upon by those who think they can reduce the negro to serfs. They cannot, and they shall not, for we have a mountain-top to which to flee. We have already suffered enough; they shall not extinguish the ethereal light which now beams in the islands of the West. Come what will, we will be free, and enjoy the blessing which God has given us [cheers].

The Bishop of Norwich briefly seconded the resolution.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

W. ALLEN, Esq. moved, and the Rev. W. KNIBB seconded.

"That the most cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to the most Honorable the Marquis of Clanricarde, for kindly accepting the chair, and his readiness on this and all occasions to promote the advancement of the cause of humanity and freedom."

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and the meeting separated.

#### MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CONFLAGRATION AT HAMBURGH.—The postscript of our last number contained a brief account of this awful calamity, and we now subjoin some further particulars. It is stated that about one fifth of the city is laid in ashes, and the progress of the flames was only then stopped by the blowing down of houses, by which large voids were created, and the raging element suffered to exhaust itself. The population of Hamburg amounts to about 150,000 souls, and by this calamity nearly 30,000 persons, it is stated, have been rendered houseless. The number of the streets entirely destroyed is computed at 46, and the number of houses at 2,000, though nothing is yet positively known. The New Exchange escaped unhurt, through the exertions of a Mr. Smith. The number of those who lost their lives is estimated at 150 to 250; but the real number will probably never be known. Surveyors have already been engaged in the hopeless task of estimating the destruction of property, which is computed at £7,000,000. Although the bank of Hamburg was destroyed, it has been officially announced that its treasure and books are safe. During the conflagration the conduct of the people was admirable for order and peaceableness; but subsequently reports were circulated that it was the act of incendiaries, and suspicion was attached to the English residents, many of whom were severely injured. An official declaration, however, was issued, stating that the reports were groundless. Assistance was afforded to the sufferers in every possible way. The authorities provided shelter for the houseless; governors of neighbouring provinces came to the town to render assistance in person; 1,400 carpenters were sent for from Bremen; and the English residents were convened in a public meeting by Colonel Hodges, to make an appeal to this country. Subscriptions have already been opened in London, to aid the unfortunate city. Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, has presented for the relief of the sufferers from the fire at Hamburg the sum of £200. Prince Albert has subscribed £100 for the same object. By Friday's steamer, £10,000, subscribed by public companies, merchants, bankers, and others, in London, were sent over to relieve the pressing necessities of the sufferers. The senate of Frankfurt had fixed the sum which it proposed to take from the public treasury, as a gift to the City of Hamburg, at 25,000 florins; but the representatives of the citizens, and the legislative body, have raised the sum to 100,000 florins (about £10,000). The King of Prussia has ordered that, in all the churches and communes of his dominions, a general collection shall be made, and from house to house, for the relief of the sufferers.

THE LATE RAILWAY ACCIDENT AT VERSAILLES.—By the latest accounts, the number of deaths caused by this catastrophe, the main facts of which have already been presented to our readers, appears to have been 52 or 53, and the number of wounded, previously reckoned at 150, not more than 40. The train was unusually long, and conveyed from 1,500 to 1,800 passengers. On arriving between Mendon and Bellevue the axle-tree of the first engine broke, and the second engine, so great was the impetus, smashed it in pieces and passed over it, and the boiler burst, throwing the unfortunate stoker 50 feet into the air. The carriages passed over the wreck, when six of them were instantly set in flames by the fire; being newly painted, they instantly ignited. Three were totally consumed, and three others partially, without the possibility of escape to their unhappy inmates, who were locked up according to the dreadful practice of such establishments. When the crash took place, a general panic seized on the passengers; the persons placed on the roofs threw themselves down from the height; those inside making wild and unavailing efforts to get out by the windows of the fast-fixed doors.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

## LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The forty-eighth anniversary of this Institution was held at Exeter hall, on Thursday last; the attendance was very numerous. The Hon. W. F. Cowper, M.P., took the chair, and briefly introduced the business of the meeting.

The Rev. A. TIDMAN then read an abstract of the report, which contained numerous facts, showing that the state and progress of the society in the past year, both at home and abroad, had been most encouraging, and the substance of which is embodied in the first resolution. The total amount of income received during the year had been £80,874 0s. 2d.; the total expenditure, £87,551 9s. 11d.; leaving a deficiency, as compared with the outlay, of £6,677 9s. 9d.

The Right Hon. Sir GEORGE GREY, Bart., M.P., moved the first resolution.

"That the report, of which an abstract has been read, be approved, printed, and circulated. That this meeting reviews, with hallowed joy, the progress of the missionary cause, through the agency of the London Missionary Society, during the past year, in the advancement of civilisation and social happiness, among tribes and nations once the victims of gross ignorance and hateful passions; in the extended education of the young, both in useful and sacred knowledge; in the translation and circulation of the holy scriptures in the dialects of Polynesia, India, and Africa; in the numerous striking conversions of the heathen to the faith of Christ; and in the general purity, order, and activity of the mission churches. But this meeting, deeply sensible that such glorious results of an agency, feeble and imperfect, must be attributed exclusively to the grace of the exalted Saviour, through the power of the Holy Spirit, humbly and gratefully ascribes to Him the honour and the praise."

The resolution will be responded to by all who have heard the abstract of the report, and who can, from its interesting and gratifying contents, gather what the more extended report must be. I avail myself of this opportunity of giving renewed expression, not only to my cordial approbation of the general aim and object of the society—the noblest aim and object which we, as servants of the living God, can set before us, but also of that great principle which this society embodies, on which it has acted from the first, and on which, I trust, it will act till the last day of its operations; a principle which induces us to recognise the inspired word of God, as the only sure and unerring rule of faith and practice; which invites all who recognise that principle, and who take the Bible as their sure and only guide in faith and practice, to join with them in sending to those nations that have long sat in darkness and the shadow of death, that light which has been graciously vouchsafed to us, drawn from the pure streams of God's revelation, and not from any streams of mere human production; in sending men with the Bible in their hands, to co-operate with angels in proclaiming "peace on earth and goodwill to men"; and in preaching those doctrines which you, sir, have so well pointed out as the great fundamental doctrines of the Bible; the only doctrines capable of producing those glorious results of which we have heard to-day, "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." The resolution which I hold in my hand invites the meeting to concur in expressing a feeling of hallowed joy at the progress of the missionary cause, through the agency of this society, during the past year. We have heard of its steady advance, for which we are called to give thanks to God, through whose blessing alone that steady and gratifying advance can have been accomplished; for, while we are called upon to express our joy at these results, the resolution goes further, and recognises, in distinct terms, in which, I am sure, we shall all concur, that the agency through which these results have been accomplished, is feeble and imperfect, and that the glory is entirely due to him who alone can give the blessing on the means he has commanded us to use [cheers]. It is only by the combination of the use of these means and the accompaniment of the blessing of God, that objects such as these can be accomplished, or that we have any right to look for the results which we desire to see accomplished, through the agency of this and kindred institutions. I will not dwell on the different points which have been adverted to in the report; but there are one or two suggestions which occur to myself, and on which I will briefly address a few words to this meeting. One is, the contrast which exists between the position in which this and other kindred societies stand at the present day, and that which many may remember, and which they must look back upon with painful feelings, deplored the circumstances under which they began the work; but, at the same time, indulging heartfelt gratitude to God, for the change since accomplished. This society has lived to see the opposition of governments fade away, suspicions unworthily entertained of dangerous political results from missionary enterprise scattered to the wind; and, thank God, we live in a day in which no man is bold enough, be the sphere of labour in the East or West Indies, to say that the missionary is a dangerous character [cheers]. All men are now willing, more or less, to recognise the beneficial results of missionary enterprise, even when they cannot fully appreciate the holy influence and high objects which missionaries have in view. They recognise these beneficial results, as this resolution states, in the increasing civilisation and social happiness of those millions of our fellow-creatures who have been brought under the influence of British rule, and who now are brought under the influence of the gospel, preached as it is by the British missionary, who, wherever he goes, will be sure of obtaining British protection. There is now no part of the world where the British flag flies, in which a missionary may not meet with a cordial reception, and look to the functionaries of his own government for cordial support [loud cheers]. We have heard that there are missionaries now fully armed with the gospel, and prepared by an intimate knowledge of the language, acquired through many years of discouragement and darkness, to enter upon the vast field of China; and, following the guidance of God's providence, are ready to plant the standard of the gospel wherever the British standard flies [loud cheers]. If we look to the West Indies, I must say, that, connected as I was from official duties, for a considerable period, with that part of the empire, I am happy publicly to confirm the testimony borne by your report to the inexpressible benefits derived from the labours of missionaries, under circumstances of the greatest trial, the greatest discouragement, and even of bitter persecution—to the immense benefits derived from those labours to that long-neglected, degraded, and oppressed race, whom, thank God, we have lived to see raised from slavery, and restored to the honour of men [loud cheers]. I do not hesitate to say, that the successful result of that great Act by which this nation struck off the fetters of the slave, has, under God, been due to those preparations which were made by the missionaries, while labouring under the circumstances I have stated; and it is to the continued labours of those missionaries that we must look for the future prosperity, the increasing civilisation, and all those happy results which I, for one, do not hesitate to anticipate, amongst that vast portion of our fellow-subjects who are rising so rapidly in everything to a level with ourselves [cheers]. These are circumstances which cannot but be most gratifying to those who, having felt and appreciated the blessings of the gospel themselves, are anxious to see that happy time arrive, when, we know, from the sure word of prophecy, that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ [loud cheers]. But there is one observation which I must make with reference to a passage in the report; and that is, that while we are freely giving these blessings we ourselves are receiving blessings in return. We find the character and the principles of the love of God which have been instilled by his blessing upon missionary operations into the hearts of the inhabitants of Polynesia, reflecting themselves back on the conduct, the character, and the

principles of men who have long gloried in the name of Christian, while they have disgraced by their practice that holy name by which they are called [cheers]. If we look back to that period when those countries were first opened by British enterprise to British intercourse, we regret to find that no attempt was made to impart to them the blessings of the gospel. They were found in a state of degrading idolatry, adopting practices revolting to humanity; and, but for a society such as this, they might have continued in that state to the present day. We now find, that, even where some have, unhappily, fallen back into the follies of the world, a most beneficial change has taken place; and some of our fellow-countrymen who before, in those distant countries, felt themselves relieved from those salutary restraints which exist here, are now shamed into the abandonment of vice, if not into the practice of virtue [hear, hear]. While many of our friends and relations are going forth to distant countries, is it not a blessing we derive under God from such a society as this, that we know there is scarcely any part of the British dependencies in which they may not be brought into contact with British missionaries, who make it their first object to devote themselves to the conversion and to the edification of the heathen, but who will never refuse to give counsel and advice to their countrymen wherever they meet them [cheers]. These are some of the multitudinous thoughts which force themselves upon the mind, on hearing the abstract of the report. I feel that I should be unduly trespassing on your time, if I were to stand in the way of those honoured men who, having laboured in the missionary enterprise, are now here to tell you what their own eyes have seen, and what their hands have done; who will be the first to acknowledge the feebleness of the agency, and to call upon you to praise, not them, but that God who has gone forth with them. I will leave them at once to address you, that they may be able to testify to the grace of God, which they have themselves seen displayed [loud cheers].

The Rev. Dr BYRTH, in seconding the resolution, said—I heard in this room, not many days ago, the month of May called "the holy festival of British Christianity," and I could not but think that title was justly due to it. Among the circumstances which have gladdened the heart during the proceedings of this month, there has been none more gratifying to me than the sound, which I have heard repeated again this day, coming, as if from the heart of this large assembly, in denunciation of what has been justly called the modern heresy [hear, hear]. I believe that the expression of public Christian opinion with regard to that subject, is intended to work wonders through the length and breadth of the land. I believe that the advocates of that wretched system will have learnt from the transactions which have taken place in this, and within other halls, that, however great may be their influence among their own deluded followers, the mind of British Christianity has been preserved untainted by the venom [cheers]. I believe that I shall not stand less accepted in the few observations that I propose to make, because before this audience I boldly declare myself to be an episcopalian, and because I hesitate not to say, that I believe episcopacy to be the best form of ecclesiastical government. My testimony on this subject will not be regarded as the weaker, because delivered before so many enlightened nonconformists. In all reason, it should be considered as the stronger, and be the more highly appreciated [hear, hear]. But I have to ask the indulgence of this meeting, while I assert, what I believe the meeting itself will concur in; viz.—that episcopacy itself is not answerable for the sin of Puseyism. While there have been arguments well directed by dissenting writers against the suppression, which has been attempted, of the great doctrine which is the basis of the catholic church, I may be permitted to say, that the deadliest blow, in my opinion, which has been aimed against that monster, came from the hand of a bishop, who, in private conversation with myself, as well as in public, has gladly acknowledged the triumphant progress of our common Christianity over the field in which you have so triumphantly erected the banners of the cross, by the hand of your lamented and honoured Williams. I repeat, then, my belief that my denunciation of Puseyism will not be less acceptable to this audience because it proceeds from the lips of one who is, most conscientiously, an episcopalian. A system so contrary to the spirit, if not altogether inconsistent with the letter of the New Testament; so groundless, as far as it would seek a foundation, even in ecclesiastical history; so withering to the best sympathies and charities of Christianity; so contradicted by fact, even in the face of day, I believe was never yet attempted to be palmed upon the Christian church; and I trust that the proceedings of this day will but add to the vigorous opposition which almost every meeting that I have attended has displayed to this monstrous perversion of the truth [cheers]. I should be false to the very purpose for which I am here if I did not say that, as a churchman, I feel it an honour to be present at this meeting. I should forget some of the most delightful associations connected with my own study of the progress of evangelical religion in this country if I did not say that I believe I am, at this moment, occupying, however humbly, my own proper position. I feel it, indeed, to be a privilege to say that, all churchman as I am, and fond of episcopacy as I have avowed myself to be, and attached to the church of which I am a minister, yet there is a bond still holier than that, a feeling which triumphs even over that affection, a principle which is mightier than that which unites me to the section of the church to which I belong; it is the love of our common Christianity [cheers]. It appears to me that it is impossible to behold such a meeting as this, keeping in view its past proceedings and successes, looking at the spirit which now animates it, regarding the glorious object which it has in view, and not to feel that it is a benefit to the spiritual character to withdraw one's self occasionally from the circle in which, commonly, our best affections are engaged, in order to contemplate what is the beauty and the grandeur of Christianity when looked at alone. And thus does it appear to me that, in the report which I have heard read by your secretary, I see what Christianity can do, independently of all our forms and of all our aids; what Christianity is by herself, although it may be that sometimes she is frowned upon in her best moods by episcopilians, and though sometimes she is neglected, in the hurry and agitation of conflict, by those nonconformists who, as well as episcopilians, yield to the temptations of controversy so far as to forget the loveliness of truth [hear]. I have rejoiced to recognise in the report which has been read, the native dignity, if I may so speak, of our common religion. I bless myself, not that I am a churchman, but I bless myself that I am a Christian; and really it appears to me, even if one's own heart had never been touched by divine grace, a most strange thing that, contemplating the triumphant achievements of Christianity, our homage, the homage of our intellects, the homage of our best feelings, should not be surrendered to these triumphs. I will not attempt to make this resolution the foundation of an elaborate address; but it really appears to me that there are many things besides the conversion of the heathen which should call forth the acclamations, yea, should win the suffrages of all who feel themselves to be men, and cause them to sing with the Latin poet, that because within them beats the blood of humanity, nothing belonging to their species is to be regarded as alien to them. Why, is it nothing that we can speak in terms which could not be gainsay'd of the progress of social happiness and civilisation? Whatever had been the instrument by which such a mighty change had been achieved ought not the philosopher himself to have said, "There have been sown the seeds of good for future times; and, although I do not understand exactly the instrumentality, yet there is an element working in the kingdom of nature, in whose results I rejoice, and I stand in humble admiration, al-

though I am altogether unable to analyse the nature of the element itself, or to perceive the way in which it has worked." And I hesitate not to say, that, if it were not Christianity which was producing these results, this is the very way in which we should be met. Were it anything but the cross of Christ, which was lifted up to shed this benign influence on the world, we should have philosophers, as well as Christians, crowding our meetings. But blessed be God, we can do without them [cheers]. It shall be the province of future historians—not of those who call themselves the exclusive successors of the Apostles—but it shall be the province of future historians of the progress of the human mind, to tell what was done by the simple experiment of bringing the great truths of the gospel to bear upon all that was degraded, and upon all that was destitute of light and truth, and to show what this simple experiment had done for its renovation [cheers]. I might speak here of the translation of the scriptures; I might speak to the man who is interested as a philologist in the progress of human improvement, who feels that language is the great vehicle of information, and that the more we can improve that vehicle, the more successful will be our efforts to communicate, not only religious knowledge, but knowledge scientific, commercial, and social. I would ask him to contemplate our efforts. However much he may feel us to be enthusiasts, he cannot contemplate us, as sending the holy word of God amongst so many barbarous tribes, without seeing, that indirectly at least, we are co-operating with him in the general improvement of mankind. These are considerations that justify the observation which I made, that we deserve the suffrages of all who are interested in the welfare of humanity. But there is another point to which I would advert. I speak here as a Christian minister; I address myself here to Christian people; I claim here, a part in the holy bond of brotherhood. I now forget all that is incidental, and all that is indirect, though fully sensible of what might be said with regard to the influence of your proceedings, independently of that great object which we have in view. There is upon the face of the resolution, I am glad to say, a holy sentiment. There seems to have been poured out upon it something of the spirit of the sanctuary. It tells of your triumphs: it traces them very admirably from step to step; but it calls on you at last, to remember that all praise is due to Him who has given you strength for the work; that not your arm has wrought the victory, but that it has been obtained by the sword of the Spirit, wielded by arms which He himself has nerved for the conflict; and it calls on you to offer thanksgiving to that Almighty agent. Let this be done, and then the question put to you in the report may confidently be answered. It was an affecting question, "Are you prepared for future triumphs?" [hear, hear]. It has often happened in the church of Christ, as it has happened with individuals and with families, that unexpected success instead of producing renewed energy, has actually brought on a state of apathy, relaxation, and collapse [hear, hear]. Now, members of the Christian church catholic, let me beg you not to allow this to be the influence of the prosperity which the great Head of the church has evidently conferred upon you. Be it your determination that while there remains anything to do, you will always be doing. Let the Christian church adopt the sentiment of the ancient conqueror, who said that while there was one nation to be subdued, he would still rush into the field; for that his empire should be the world. What would that man have given for that Almighty influence which accompanies your labours? [hear, hear]. His was a vain boast; the dynasty which he erected, has long since faded into nothingness; his throne has been crumbled into dust; the very language which he spoke ceases to be a living language. But it shall not be so with Christianity [cheers]. The Lord whose cause you would promote, is to be the everlasting sovereign; his sceptre, that of universal dominion; the language which his people shall speak, will be an universal language when this world shall have passed away; we shall then speak the language of that common charity whose accents we are this day fervently endeavouring to lisp. Oh! that every one of us may look forward to that glorious consummation! Oh! that we may forget in what we differ in the contemplation of that which we behold and love in common! Oh! that the beautiful and sublime personification of Christianity exhibited by such meetings as this may always be present to us, when disposed to indulge in the sentiments, or to use the language of bitterness! Christ has not declared that his flock should be distinguished by a flat uniformity. Uniformity is no equivalent for union. I heard something of uniformity at a missionary meeting held abroad, not long ago, which strongly reminded me of what some men at home think upon the subject. The gospel, it appeared, had been preached by a missionary in an Indian village. The Brahminical owner of the village called the inhabitants together, and said to them, "Some of you, I understand, have been listening to the Christian preacher. Now, I have no objection to that; but I have an objection to everything like dissension. I cannot bear that this little community should be disturbed by difference of opinion; so I give you your choice. You shall either all be Christians, or you shall all be Hindoos" [laughter]. There are many persons in this country who so value uniformity, that, like the sapient head of this village, they would give to all the name of Christians, however diverse their general character. I contend that uniformity of this kind is not union. But there is a union of a far different character [hear, hear]. It is the union which connects all the members of Christ's mystical body; it is the union in which they are bound together in that charity which is the bond of perfectness; it is the union which shows, in the remotest extremity, that the Spirit of the Lord is there; it is the union which enables us to speak one common language, because we are under the influence of one common affection. By this do "all men know that we are his disciples, because we love one another" [loud cheers].

The Rev. A. F. LACROIX, of Calcutta, then came forward, and was received with loud cheers. After thanking the meeting for this cordial reception, he spoke as follows: It is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul and Barnabas, on their return from the missionary tour which they had undertaken at the request of their brethren of Antioch, gathered the church together to rehearse the things which God had done for them, and how he had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles. I wish on my return from India, after a sojourn there of upwards of twenty years, that it were in my power to relate to you similar success in that far distant land. But though I may not be able to do this to the same extent, I am sure it will not be uninteresting to you to hear what is the actual state of things, and what are the present prospects of India [hear, hear]. Since my arrival in England, from various conversations which I have had with the friends of missions, I have been led to conclude that rather more is thought of the progress of the gospel in India than facts will warrant. I feel it, therefore, my duty to place before you things as they are, and to show the dark as well as the bright side of the picture [hear, hear]. It is when India is viewed generally, that we see the dark side. Viewing India in general, I grieve to say that it is still the domain of the prince of darkness, and its myriads of inhabitants are still living "without God and without hope in the world" [hear, hear]. Idolatry, with all its superstitions and all its revolting practices, is still the religion of the land; Pantheists are still insulting the Deity by ascribing to him almost every evil action that can be committed; the example of the gods is still polluting the minds of the people, and giving them most erroneous and pernicious notions of sin; Brahminical tyranny is still enslaving the native minds, and, what I am sure will excite a deep and painful interest in a very large portion of this audience, the entire female population, (one half, that is, of the whole number,) is still sunk in the deepest ignorance, and kept in the most degrading bondage (hear, hear).

Caste is still exercising its most baneful influence in restraining charity, in preventing incentives to personal exertion, and in engendering pride; the practice of exposing the sick on the banks of the Ganges, is still murdering its thousands, and increasing the agonies of death in its tens of thousands; falsehood, perjury, and every species of crime, are still heaping guilt on the heads of the people, and crying for vengeance to Heaven. Yes, all these lamentable things are still found existing in India. Ah! is not the state of a country in which these things are to be found, well calculated to call for the mournful sympathy of all those who wish for the glory of God and the welfare of their fellow creatures? It is true that some individuals have embraced Christianity; but how few compared with those who have not (hear, hear)! In the whole of the Bengal and Agra presidencies, containing eighty millions of inhabitants, perhaps not more than thirteen thousand have become professing Christians; while the real Christians, taking as such all who are members of a Christian church, do not amount, it is to be feared, to one thousand; that is, one Christian to eighty thousand heathen (hear, hear). Oh, what a disproportion yet between the adherents of truth and the adherents of error! How much, how very much, yet requires to be done, ere this part of the world can be called the Lord's! In Bengal and Agra, there is only one efficient missionary to one million and a half of idolaters (hear, hear). What, I would ask, could be accomplished with such instrumentality in this large metropolis, which contains, I believe, about the same amount of population? If this holds good of London, with a professing Christian population, what might be expected to occur in India, with the same inadequate instrumentality—a land of idolaters, imbued with the strongest and the most deep-rooted prejudices, and enslaved by a corrupt and interested priesthood (hear, hear)? But, while duty compels me to state the dark side of things in India, I would not wish you to infer that nothing has been done there, much less that it is a barren soil from which no promising harvest for the Lord can be expected. On the contrary, I am very happy to state, that wherever a sufficient quantity of labour has been employed for a sufficient time, a most pleasing process of renovation has been witnessed, and many beneficial results have been produced; leading to the certain conclusion, that, if the same means which have locally proved so successful, were more extensively used, the most happy effects throughout the whole country might be confidently anticipated (cheers). And while I state that wherever missionary labour has been extended the most pleasing results have been produced, candour requires me to say, that missionary labours have not entirely, and alone, produced such results. In the intercourse of Europeans with the natives, in the progress of the press, and the general information which, under the providence of God, it is the means of circulating, and in various other ways, do we see its instrumentality producing the happiest effects. Amongst the happy results which have been produced, I would mention the less degree of veneration which is now shown to idolatrous priests and to idolatry; the falling off, and it is very considerable, in the pomp and in the expenses connected with the religious festivals; the less obscene character of the figures carved on the temples, on the cars of Juggernaut, and on the engines of idolatry; the fact that very few new temples are now being built, whilst many of the old ones are permitted to fall into decay; the partial, and in some instances total, desertion of native theological colleges; the reluctance of many Brahmins to temple employments, owing to the gains of idolatry being no longer sufficient to support them; the fetters of caste gradually loosening; the extraordinary anxiety of numbers to obtain a liberal education; the far better attendance of the people on the preaching of the gospel, and especially where it is preached most frequently; the far fewer objections made to it, and the giving up in despair, by many of the advocates of idolatry, of all attempts to support it by means of public argument. While statements of what has been done afford an incentive to perseverance in the good work, there is, in my opinion, a far greater incentive in the fact that India alone, of all the countries of the habitable globe, is the most prepared of the Lord for the reception of the gospel. And if this be true, as I hope to be able to prove, is it not clearly the duty of the Christian church to direct its efforts primarily to the promotion of the missionary cause in that country? The Israelites traveled only when they saw the cloud and the pillar, and halted only when they were directed to do so by the pillar; thus consulting the Lord in all their goings out and comings in. In the same manner Christians who are anxious for the conversion of the world should consult the will of the Lord as to the particular spheres which they should first occupy. And I am afraid that the omission of this clear duty has been the temporary cause at least of the failure of many a mission. How could it be otherwise, when men have wished to be wiser than God; when they have gone where he has not called them, and neglected the doors which he has opened [hear]? The apostles paid very great attention to the leading of the Lord in this respect. The apostle Paul, for instance, when he had determined, for reasons which commanded themselves to his own mind, to go to Asia Minor and Abyssinia, because he was directed to more important fields, immediately relinquished the plan of his own devising and went to Macedonia, where he found a people ready to receive the truths of the gospel. And though we have no supernatural intimations to guide our conduct, still I maintain that we have, in the dealings of God's providence, equally clear intimations as to what we should do with respect to the missionary work [hear, hear]. It is universally acknowledged that, when our Lord became incarnate, the world had been prepared for his coming by many events that affected the social, the moral, and the political interests of mankind. And it is also, I believe, granted that these had been produced by God's immediate interposition. If, therefore, the same features are now to be found in the heathen world, can we be erring in sending the gospel there? We surely never can err when we are imitators of God. If God thought a certain state of preparedness the most suited for the introduction of the gospel of his Son into the world, surely when the same features are now to be found in any pagan country, we must acknowledge that God has prepared that country for the gospel, and that he wishes it to be introduced there. All the requisite features are to be found in India now. The Indians, one and all, owing especially to an ancient prophecy in their holy books, are fully expecting in the age in which we are living the entire overthrow of their religion, and that a totally new order of things will prevail. All the efforts of the Christian missionaries in India have tended to convey to the natives the impression that a new order of things is at hand. It is owing to this that they display so wonderful an apathy in the defence of their own system; for what can tend more to weaken effort in any cause than despair of success? But there are other signs of the times which preceded the first establishment of Christianity to be found in India. There are many learned Brahmins, and amongst them the followers of Rammohun Roy, who, entirely despairing of keeping up the Hindoo system of religion in its ancient form, are now endeavouring to engrave a more refined system upon it, chiefly taken from the most unexceptionable parts of the Vedas, and according to which system, its adherents are to worship only the god of nature, without any sensible representations. Their object is candidly avowed in a paper which was published not long before I left India; there they actually state that they will endeavour to impede the progress of Christianity, which they say is fearfully rapid, by holding forth a system more suited to the people of the present enlightened age than their own system. There is one other consideration, which I am sure will have some weight with you. If missionary efforts are not at the present time more energetically directed towards India, there is a fearful probability that that country will be cursed with the blasting scourges of infidelity, and become a nation of godless and un-

principled men. The days of Hindooism are numbered. On this I entertain not the least doubt, and it is the opinion of all those in India who have studied the subject with care and attention. They know that the ancient system of superstition is doomed to fall ere many generations have passed away. Every event happening in India, the rapid march of intellect, everything, in short, leads us to this conclusion. But the question is, shall the system be replaced by Christianity, or by a system of cold and heartless infidelity [hear, hear]? God forbid that the latter should be the case; yet I fear that it will be so, unless great exertions are made to prevent that calamity. My chief reason for entertaining that apprehension is this. For some years, a system of scientific education has been introduced into India, from whence religious instruction is most jealously excluded. All the colleges and schools connected with the government come under this description. Those in the Bengal and Agra presidencies cannot contain less than ten thousand young men who belong to the most influential and respectable class of the inhabitants, and who, when they grow up to manhood, will give its tone too, and be the leaders of society in India. Yet are they now in the awful position of never hearing a word in their schools about the way of salvation. That such an education must tend to make them infidels, you will easily be able to conceive, if you consider how the enlightened instruction they receive removes and corrects numerous erroneous ideas with respect to many things in the visible world, which they had imbibed from their shasters and sacred books; for you are aware that the Hindoo shasters claim to be infallible guides on scientific subjects as well as theological; to tell the cause of rain, of thunder, of the rainbow, and the size and dimensions of the earth, and to explain many other material effects. But what will be the consequence? These young men, finding that their sacred books contain palpable deviations from truth, will naturally enough conclude that they themselves, and their forefathers, have been grossly deceived; and, forsaking Hindooism altogether, and giving up their shasters, they will become, as numbers have already done, infidels under the various denominations of materialists, deists, and atheists. Oh! that the Christian world would arise, and be doing, at this critical juncture, and prevent infidelity from spreading the land. And how can this evil be averted? By introducing Christianity there more extensively than you have done hitherto. It is of vast importance that Christianity should be energetically supported in India, in order to sustain its character, and to confirm the testimony which the missionaries have given respecting it [hear, hear]. The heralds of the truth in Bengal, or in India generally, fully trusting that the societies which sent them out would support them as they required, have told the Hindoos that Christianity is that religion which must ultimately prevail throughout the land. Judge, then, what distressing effects will be produced, when, instead of those means being more amply supplied, they are still scantily furnished. Judge how painful it must be to the missionary, when, owing to the paucity of means, he is obliged to close a school, or to give up a station, and has to hear the heathen tauntingly allude to the fact [hear, hear]. They will say on such occasions, "What a good thing it is that we did not listen to this man; for, had we done so, he would have left us to shift for ourselves, just when we had broken our caste, and destroyed our connexion with our fellow-countrymen." Such is the language of heathens, heard with these ears, on the failure of missionary efforts. What responsibility, then, rests upon missionary societies to prosecute and extend the work they have begun in India? They owe this to the sacred character of the work they have undertaken—they owe it to the faithful men whom they have sent there to execute their plans, and who trust to their support—they owe it to the heathen whom they have just sufficiently enlightened to make them feel their defects, but not enough to remove them; to disturb the present, but not to establish and give stability to a better system. But how can missionary societies provide means, unless powerfully supported by the British public, who have so frequently pledged themselves at meetings like this, to aid the cause to the utmost extent of their power, but who have not sufficiently redeemed the pledge? Another remark, and I have done. I have read of many of your naval commanders, who, when pressed by a superior force, instead of surrendering their vessels to the enemy, have nailed their colours to the mast, with the determination to conquer or to die. This is the very disposition I wish to see you, as British Christians, exhibiting towards India. Oh, that you would determine, in the strength of the Lord, that, having once planted the standard of the cross in that land, nothing shall ever induce you again to lower it in the smallest hamlet where it has already waved, and that you will not relax in your endeavours, till that standard of peace and good-will to man has been erected in every city and town and village from the Indus to the Brahmapootra, and from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Cormorin [loud cheers].

WILLIAM EVANS, Esq., M.P., briefly moved the next resolution:—

"That this meeting, considering the general and unprecedented commercial depression which has long prevailed, cannot but receive the announcement of an increase in the society's income with unusual satisfaction. It marks with pleasure and with hope, the liberal offerings of the young, especially of those in Sabbath-schools; and above all, it is gratified and encouraged by the zeal and liberality of the Mission churches, from which nearly one fourth of the society's income has been derived. Nevertheless, contemplating the misery, degradation, and guilt of hundreds of millions of uninstructed heathens: regarding also the wonderful facilities afforded by Divine Providence for enlarged Christian efforts, and solemnly recognising the unalterable command of the Lord Jesus, that his Gospel should be preached to every creature, this meeting urges on all the friends of the society, both at home and abroad, the imperative duty of persevering, systematic, and enlarged liberality, while it trusts that their most generous efforts will be sustained and sanctified by the spirit of devotion."

The Rev. Dr FLETCHER, in seconding the resolution, said, the subject of India is, at this moment, so prodigiously absorbing, that I am almost disposed to forget all the other topics to which the report has referred, and to wish we had met for no other purpose than to think and talk about the claims of India [cheers]. I could not but sympathise with the natural and enthusiastic acclamations which succeeded the speech relative to India; but the preponderating feeling after all, ought to be humiliation before God that our means are so inadequate to the work, that so much is yet to be done, and that we are not more fervent in prayer, more contrite in heart, more self-denying in effort, and more devoted in service and labour. The feeling, in my own mind is such, that no congratulations as to past success, can remove it, and no satisfaction can diminish it. When I think of nearly one hundred millions of immortal beings, subjected by the mysterious and wonder-working providence of God to the dominion of this land; when I think of the peculiar crisis at which we have arrived, that, at the very period when a nation is emerging from ignorance, and darkness, and degradation, to another, and we would hope, a higher state, men should then interpose like the fiends of hell, to blast our prospects, and to fill us even for a moment with dismay and despondency; it reminds me of the prophetic and instructive parable of our Lord himself, when he speaks of the spirit of uncleanness ejected from the unhappy demoniac, but only for a time; the room he left not being occupied as it ought to have been, by a better and a holier spirit, the unclean spirit returns, finds it empty, swept and garnished, the better occupant not there, then he comes and takes with him seven spirits more wicked than himself; and they enter in and dwell there, so that the last state of that man is worse than the first. Will it not be so in India? May we not fear that if infidelity take possession of the native mind, that the vices and the wrongs, the pollutions of idolatry, with all the super-added enormities of more cultured lands, will aggravate the wretchedness and degradation of India? Oh! that our prayers and efforts, by God's bles-

sing, may prevent this awful result. It is matter of congratulation that we have found so large an accession to our funds both relatively and positively, in the contributions of the young. I find a special reference to this in the resolution, and that more than £1,000 have been sent from Sabbath-schools to the treasury of this institution [loud cheers]. It is not the mere amount of property at which I look. Our honoured friend told us of the moral and intellectual influence of the ten thousand young men who are training under the moral influence of the native system which has so long prevailed in India. Oh! that it did not prevail! He has told us that this training will exercise a mighty, and it is feared, a perilous influence on the future generations of India, unless counteracted by Christian influence, that with all their knowledge of science, they are ignorant of Christianity; that, though various errors and misconceptions are rectified, yet they have no knowledge of the Bible—no experience of the counteracting influence of its high and holy principles. We have taught them to read and study the literature of Britain; but will it be believed, that when religious tracts, and various books, directly conducive to their spiritual welfare, books of the most unsectarian and the most catholic principles, were sent to the schools to exert their moral and civilising influence on India, they were rejected—not allowed to have an entrance there; while, at the very same time, under those most impartial men of science and letters, Hume's Essays, with all their infidelity, Byron's works, with all their pollution, were allowed to have free course. This is matter for deep regret. But I advert to it to show that there is an analogous influence in this country, that must exert itself through the medium of all our schools, universities, and colleges; and while I would not for one moment, contend that Christianity should be a matter or coercive, compulsive, or restrictive arrangement, never let us forget it, never be it overlooked, that the friends of religion must be more than ever active, devoted and determined in causing the word of God to be elevated to its just position (cheers). I would, with regard to the progress of missions among the young, advise that missionaries should meet our Sabbath schools, and thus try to work on the public mind, through the influence of children gathered together in the schools. I look upon it as essential to the conservation of truth, and as deeply connected with the purity and progress of religion. We must identify the missionary cause with all that belongs to our personal, our social, and our public religion. We must never forget it. Oh! was it forgotten by him whose name was Love? Was it forgotten by Him, whose humanity was the incarnation of love? Was it forgotten by Him, whose sacrifice was the sacrifice of himself; and who taught his disciples, in his spirit, in his temper, in his prayers, in his life, and in his death, that to save immortal souls, and to effect the great purposes of spiritual benevolence, was the object of that incarnation? And does he forget it now? No. It is still dear to his heart. He is at the right hand of the Majesty on high, head over all things to his church, and supreme governor of the universe, to effect its important designs. He shed his Spirit on his first disciples, that his first disciples might reflect his image and propagate his spirit throughout the world. They were, I know, long in learning the lessons of their Master's love and their Master's philanthropy; and prejudice lingered in their hearts before they gave up the synagogue for the church, and determined to live for the conversion of the world [cheers]. And when you see any approaching to the sectarian and exclusive, the monopolising and restrictive spirit, you may be sure they are going back to the synagogue, and are forgetting the spirit and catholicity of the church; they are becoming Jewish, and not Christian; they are losing sight of the whole design of God's economy with man from the earliest age. Let us rise above all that is little, and mean, and selfish, and oppose the anti-protestant, anti-christian errors that have met with the most effectual refutation in the facts and appeals of this day. Sir, I regard the cause of missions as the most important branch of operation in the cause of God, because it is the best practical refutation of infidelity, and the most complete antagonism of the modern heresy of Puseyism. We see the God of missions directly proving the origin of missions to be from himself. Every missionary on this platform is an apostolic man; every missionary brings before you the best signs of apostleship; and, blessed be God, every minister can look around upon the seals and signs of such an apostleship, in the ignorant instructed, in the sinner converted, in the wretched made happy, and the victims of delusion and sin raised to the high dignity of sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty [cheers]. We wish no other proofs, but would ever recognise this principle and cherish this spirit. I rejoice in the establishment, and still more in the power and prevalence, of this great society. I am now approaching the rank of the seniors; and I can recollect, nearly forty years ago, when the venerated band of devoted men occupied the platform of this society in a very different place from this. I can well recollect, though not yet old, the controversies which were carried on, as to the propriety and policy of missionary enterprises, and the gloomy foreboding of the Scott Warings, and Twinings of that day, in reference to the cause of God among the heathen. Where are they now [loud cheers]? The cause was then frowned upon by lettered men, and was laughed at as the folly of fanaticism, by the higher classes of the land; while to mention the missionary name, even so recently as the time of the Demerara martyr, was to call forth sneers and ridicule. But now, blessed be God, we see senators and distinguished men, in the highest ranks of life, supporting the cause of missions [loud cheers]. We see literature now devoted to the support and advancement of that cause, and poets think it not beneath their dignity to strike their lyre to set forth its praise and honour. Adverting to this point, let me say that the year that has just closed has been one of the most distinguished and important years of our society. I would not undervalue the missionary literature of our own institution and of other societies. I bless God for what has been done by the "Polynesian Researches" of Ellis, and the valuable work of Dr Philip on South Africa, and all the interesting volumes published by other missionaries. But look at the accessions to the literature of the last year. See what volumes, rich in the treasures of learning and research, important in argument, and delightful in spirit and in temper, have issued from the press, and others are still in progress. I conceive this simple fact presents a very delightful aspect of the missionary cause. When I think of the "Martyr of Erromanga," and the "Great Commission," and the "Defence of Missions" by the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, and the not less valued work of our brother Hamilton, of Leeds, and other friends of missions, brought forward in one year, to affect the public mind, to direct inquiry, to confirm impression, and to animate exertion, I feel that God has not left the cause of missions without abundant witness, that hearts are still turned to feel the claims, and talent to defend the interests, of this rising cause. Amid commercial depressions and political convulsions, it is an omen for good that there are hearts, and that there are heads, anointed with the Spirit of God. And will he leave us? No; deep as are our reasons for humiliation, he will not leave us, nor forsake us. If God had intended to destroy us, he would not have shown us such things as these [cheers]. My beloved friends in the Christian ministry, my beloved friends in Christian societies of all orders and names, I would say, Onward must be your motto. Never must you despair. Onward, onward, must be your cry; you must raise up the gospel standard, till every mind is enlightened, and every heart is brought to bow to the authority, and love the name, of the Son of God (loud cheers).

The Rev. W. G. BARRETT rose and said, I wish to secure your attention to the West India islands, particularly to the island of Jamaica. You, sir, have been pleased, and so was Sir George Grey, to make some refer-

ence to the happy change which has lately taken place in the social condition of the inhabitants of that island. I count it a distinguished honour, that I witnessed that great and glorious change in the condition of this people, in passing out of a state of slavery, bitter and cruel, and entering into one of entire and unrestricted freedom, with safety to all and injury to none. You have justly said, that we owe this mainly, if not entirely, to the influence of the gospel, as preached by ministers of various denominations. I feel happy to bear my humble testimony to the value of the labours of ministers of every denomination, throughout the islands of the West, in bringing about that happy change, which has so recently taken place, and without whose labours that transition must have been attended by violence, and bloodshed, and retaliation, for those unnumbered wrongs which the negro population had so long suffered. I believe that this is a religious question in America, that land of liberty and thirteen stripes; that land of religious revivals and negro slavery. The bearing of the question of emancipation upon America is one that deserves to be studied by every man calling himself a Briton or a Christian. I remember a poor old African woman, who came to me immediately after freedom, and said, that she wanted to speak to me. She had been torn from her father land in the days of her youth; she had endured all the unmitigated horrors of the middle passage; she had been more than three score years a down trodden slave in the West Indies; and now, in the eleventh hour, she had passed into a state of light and freedom, which she never anticipated. She said to me: "Minister, I do not know where to get words to thank God Almighty for this great liberty" (cheers). This was the feeling throughout the islands of the West. The feeling of gratitude to God absorbed every other. All recollection of past wrongs was buried in oblivion. The people of God, with one glad consent, entered the places of worship, to celebrate the praises of God, and to say, "Come, let us sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." But I pass from these subjects, to the results and labours of our mission, in the island of Jamaica. We commenced in the year 1834. The society had long had a valuable mission in the neighbouring colonies of Berbice and Demerara; and, as several favourable openings were presented in the island of Jamaica, and as there was an abundance of land to be possessed without entrenching upon another man's labours, we thought it right to embrace them. There is, even now, room for more missionaries. In the parish of Vere, adjoining the one in which I live, there are 15,000 inhabitants; and there is not one single resident missionary of any denomination. But, after an absence of upwards of seven years from my native land, I rejoice to stand here, and to have an opportunity of asserting that the success which has attended our labours, has far exceeded our most sanguine expectations, and has been such as to lead us to thank God and take courage (loud cheers). We have in the island of Jamaica eleven principal stations, and, connected with them, we have upwards of 6,000 persons in attendance upon our ministry; 1,500 catachumens, or inquirers, persons desirous of uniting with the church; and 500 communicants; a people not gathered from the ranks of other churches, but a people who, civilly and religiously considered, were not a people, who have now, however, with ourselves, obtained a filial spirit, whereby they cry, "Abba, Father." We have been obliged, in the island of Jamaica, to exercise the greatest caution and vigilance in the admission of members to the church; and suffer me for a moment to dwell upon this topic. Since the formation of our churches, we have not had to exclude in all parts of the island, more than twenty-five members. In alluding to the vigilance we are obliged to exercise, I speak as the representative of my beloved brethren there, with whom I hope to spend my last days on earth (cheers). We have never sought high attainments in learning, large biblical knowledge, or anything of the kind; but we have simply sought credible, satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God, and, wherever we have seen persons display this, where their light has so shone, that others, seeing their good works, have glorified God, we have held out the right hand of fellowship, and said, "Come in with us, and we will do you good" (cheers). It is known, I presume, to every person in this audience, that the negroes are either born in Africa, or are descended from Africans, and that the Africans are naturally a superstitious race. Perhaps some persons will think I am underrating their character; but there is no need to make a man an angel of light to induce us to love him. We love the negro not the less because we speak of him in his true character. Consider where the negroes came from—Africa, a land of Fetishism and Obeahism; and then consider the school in which they have been brought up (hear, hear). The system of slavery allowed no time for the improvement of their minds, or the worship of God. Therefore I wonder not at their being superstitious; but I wonder that it has so rapidly given way to the benign influence of the gospel. In reference, however, to superstition, let me speak of that which I have seen, and to which I can testify of my own knowledge. I have had applications from persons in the grossest state of ignorance and sin, to be received into the church, or to baptise their children. One woman said, "Minister, we want you to baptise piccaninny." I inquired why. She replied, "Me want him to learn a little manners from Massa Jesus." Another said, "Me want him to be a good Christian, and he cannot unless you make him (hear, hear)." Persons living in gross immorality, and utterly ignorant of the first principles of Christianity, have come and asked admission to the church of Jesus Christ. On inquiring their reason, I have had for answer, numbers of times, "The bread is to break our hearts for sin, and the wine is to heal the wounds." And often when we found the people theoretically right, they would still entertain the same ideas of sacramental efficacy in their minds; so that we have been obliged to exercise the greatest caution in admitting any to the church. I hope and believe we have not erred in making the door of entrance narrower than Christ has made it. We looked for evidence that they have been born again of the incorruptible word of God. But I must just mention one word about schools. We have in them upwards of 1,600 children, in daily attendance; and I regard the schools among these people to be of the greatest importance. If ever we are to have a good and noble band of native teachers and preachers, it must consist of men whose minds have been trained and disciplined in our schools. If ever Africa is to be regenerated, it must be by means of its own sons and daughters deported from the islands of the West; and these men and women must have been taught the first principles of the Christian religion in our schools. I therefore deprecate the time when the funds of the society shall be so diminished, and its exigencies so great, that it shall be obliged to shut up its schools in the islands of the West, or to substitute as teachers an inferior native agency, when we want the best we can get to bring this people out of a wretched mental condition into one that approaches our own (cheers). The rev. gentleman concluded by moving:—

"That Thomas Wilson, Esq., be the treasurer; that the Rev. Arthur Tidman and the Rev. Joseph John Freeman, be the foreign secretaries, and the Rev. John Arundel be the home secretary, for the ensuing year. That the directors, who are eligible, be re-appointed; and that the gentlemen, whose names will be read, be chosen to fill up the places of those who retire; and that the directors have power to fill up vacancies."

The Rev. GEORGE PRITCHARD, missionary from the South Seas, rose and said—It is with feelings I cannot describe that I rise to address you on the subject before us. In order to ascertain what the gospel has accomplished in the South Sea Islands it is necessary just to glance at their condition when our missionaries first entered that field of labour. It is a well-ascertained fact, that while our missionaries were labouring there without any

apparent success, more than two-thirds of their infants, the moment they were born, were hurried into eternity, either by the hands of their own mothers or by those whose trade it was to practise infanticide. Numerous were the rites connected with the pagan altars in order to appease gods of their own making. I have seen a large extent of ground where these temples stood literally strewed with human bones of these sacrifices. Were I to carry you back for a few years to the history of the South Sea Islands, I might point to companies where men, with fiend-like ferocity, were gorging themselves with human flesh; I might show you, suspended in the air, on the point of the warrior's spear, children writhing in the agonies of death. I might conduct you to the licentious dance, where scenes were witnessed too abominable for language to describe; I might point to another company, showing by their lacerated fingers, having chopped off one joint after the other, that they were endeavouring to appease the anger of their imaginary god; I might show you a man carrying his father, professedly to bathe him in a river, but throwing him into a hole which had been already dug, that he might no longer be a trouble to the family of which he was a member; but enough has been said to show the deplorable condition of the South Sea Islanders before they were favoured with the gospel of Christ. What is their present condition? They are now enjoying the glorious liberty of the children of God. You may see the aged warrior sitting with the young disciple, conversing about their eternal peace (cheers). You may now see parents surrounded by their offspring, ready to minister to their wants. The wife is no longer separated from her own offspring by superstitious observances; but they are now, as one compact family, enjoying the blessings of civil and social life. And what is the language we hear from their lips? "Behold, what manner of love the Father has bestowed on us, that we should be called the children of God." The Tahitians no longer imbue their hands in blood that their altars may groan with human victims. The Friendly Islanders no longer chop off the joints of their fingers to manifest their grief for departed relatives; the Sandwich Islanders no longer carry their property to pagan priests, to avert certain evils threatened by them (cheers). No; these formerly deluded, degraded heathen, are now looking by faith to the Lamb of God; they are now resting on the great sacrifice offered on Calvary. No sooner did these Tahitians and the neighbouring islanders feel the power of vital godliness in their own hearts than they felt an anxious solicitude for the spiritual and eternal welfare of their fellow countrymen who are yet "in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity." That spiritual light which has now broken in on their minds they were anxious to reflect to those dark places of the earth which are full of the habitations of cruelty. Hence many offer their services to carry the gospel to their fellow men, to islands that are yet in darkness. The missionaries selected those who appeared best qualified, they chartered a vessel, and took some to the Australian isles, and others to the dangerous Archipelago, and those teachers have been labouring up to the present time with success. Soon after these native teachers were settled in the Hervey Groups, of which Rarotonga is the principal island, I had an opportunity of visiting this group—it was a short period before Mr Williams was murdered on the shores of Erromanga. On this occasion I was accompanied by Mr Williams, and we were delighted to find the cross of Christ planted in those islands. We spent a Sabbath on one, and there we received forty members; at another we received twenty-five members, and then bent our course for Rarotonga, where we were pleased to find from our brethren, that the cause of Christ was prospering. Mr Pitman told me that besides many received into the church as the fruit of his own labours, he had also received, a little before our arrival, twenty, who dated their serious impressions to the labours of his native assistant. While referring to this island, allow me to add, that they have not only sent 20*l.* as their first offering to this society, but the same vessel likewise brought the sum of 80*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* to the British and Foreign Bible society, for testaments printed by that institution, and which the natives have most gladly purchased as soon as they had arrived on their shores. I had the pleasure of taking this testament to them, and I saw the earnestness they manifested on getting the Word of God into their hands (cheers). There is an individual now residing on that island, an interesting character, and who accompanied brother Williams and myself on the voyage to which I have just alluded. He is usually called Davida, from David; but his name is Makea. It appears a letter was written to him by the author of "The Sinner's Friend," to the father of the present chief; but it did not arrive till after his death, and consequently it came into the hands of his son. I hold in my hand a translation of the reply. It is to the following effect:—

"RAROTONGA—FROM KING MAKEA DAVIDA.

"Avarua, Rarotonga, Sept. 20, 1841.

"My brother beloved greatly in Jesus, J. V. Hall—Seen have I your letter which you wrote to Makea. He died in the month of October, 1839. He did not see your letter which you wrote him. The manner of his death was, that he died with faith in the blood of Jesus, the Messiah.

"A bad man truly was he formerly; but afterwards did he entirely give up his heart to God.

"My brother, I understood that Jesus, the Messiah, is your rejoicing by what you have said in your writing to Makea. I also understand the little book ('The Sinner's Friend')—a book very excellent and enlightening to read.

"My friend, I am delighted that such love is experienced in my time, and for the very great love of Jesus the Messiah to you and to me, in this season of good the most excellent. That is all the word from

"J. V. Hall, Esq., Maidstone, England.

"MAKEA DAVIDA."

It was at this island that Mr Williams built his missionary ship called "The Messenger of Peace." An institution has now been formed there for native teachers, and ground has been purchased on which the seminary is to be raised. It is under the care of Mr Buzacott, and youths will receive such instructions as we trust will eminently qualify them to become faithful ministers of Jesus Christ among their countrymen. We visited the Navigators' Islands, and also the Friendly Islands, a field occupied by our Wesleyan brethren. We spent a happy Sabbath there, and rejoiced to find that the cause of Christ was prospering in their hands. I learned from a senior missionary that they had in communion 8,638 members, 1,400 of whom were daily employed in communicating Christian instruction to their fellow countrymen, some as schoolmasters, others as local preachers. There is only one group more to which I will refer, and that is the Sandwich Islands, occupied by our American brethren, in connexion with a few native teachers, who have been sent from the Society Islands. They have been favoured with a great outpouring of the Spirit; they have had 15,000 added to the church in the whole group within the last two years. So that they have now standing in church fellowship 20,000 of those who were formerly deluded heathen. Putting these islands together, we have full 200,000, the inhabitants of which have abandoned their heathenish customs, and are now enjoying the blessings of the gospel of peace. Uniting these groups, we have, in connexion with our own and three other societies, full 40,000 of these former idolaters and cannibals now sitting down from month to month at the table of the Lord, commemorating the dying love of our adorable Redeemer (cheers). I will make one remark as to the character of the natives of Tahiti. They pay great attention to the word of God. They are now favoured with the whole of the bible in their own language, and this they esteem an invaluable treasure. This production has cost my senior brethren at least forty years' hard labour. The people are not only thankful that they possess it, but are anxious to understand it. Hence the royal family, including Queen Pomare, her mother, and aunt, with the nobles, and all the members of our church, are formed into bible classes; and early

every morning, with the exception of Saturday, they are examined, the Queen being interrogated the same as her subjects (laughter, and cheers). Besides this, they frequently come with the bible in their hands, asking us to explain passages which they could not fully understand. Hence they have got a correct knowledge of divine truth, and are very apt in applying it. I will only make one more remark as regards Tahiti, that is with reference to the missionary zeal there displayed. I rejoice to find that so much was raised by the associations connected with this society during the last year; but I do not know a church in the Pacific that has not a regular society carried on just as yours is (cheers). They hold their anniversaries on the same day as you, the only difference being that which arises from the relative positions of the two hemispheres to the sun. They thus give proof of their desire to disseminate the gospel by subscribing liberally to its support. On these occasions a missionary sermon is preached, after which the party retire to dinner, and then hold their business meeting. But the making of speeches there is not left to the black-coated gentlemen (laughter). One stands up and says, "I have got a little to say;" he is followed by a second, and we have sometimes eighteen or twenty speeches, till we are obliged to say, "That is quite enough" (loud cheers). It does not, however, all end in speechifying; they subscribe what they have got. There are few who have money; but they cheerfully give either of the produce of the island or the labour of the hands. I went with Mr Williams, in the "Messenger of Peace," to visit the churches in the various islands; and I took this opportunity to collect the missionary subscriptions, because, living in a sea-port, we can there dispose of them. On that occasion I received about 220 carved paddles, which were sold as curiosities. I also conveyed home 111 spears, the very weapons they formerly used in fighting; but now, no longer needing such instruments of war, they gave them also to be sold as curiosities. We likewise obtained a very considerable quantity of arrow-root and oil. The little children, anxious to aid in the cause, dive in quest of shells. They employ their ingenuity in devising means to give something to the cause of God. I have a list of these subscriptions, and the first item is 397. 16s. 3*1/2*d. in cash. I mention the circumstance to account for the way in which a sum of 10*l*. was received. A little before the missionary meeting was held one of her Majesty's ships of war called at the island. The captain stated to the missionary that he wanted a very superior model of a Tonga canoe, which he intended as a present to Queen Victoria, and therefore requested to be introduced to one of the best mechanics in the island. The missionary fixed on one of the sovereigns of the group, who is a very clever mechanic. This man, being a sovereign, thought that he ought to have the name of a sovereign; and, as the native converts usually take foreign names, he chose that of King George: he executed his task so much to the satisfaction of the captain that the latter presented him with ten sovereigns. King George never was so rich in his life before: he stowed the money away in a place no one knew but himself; at the meeting he brought it with him, and placed it on the plate as his contribution to the missionary society (loud cheers). In fact, however, he gave eleven sovereigns; for he has given himself to the missionary work, and his name stands on the list of village preachers (applause). I trust that, with such an example before you, you will this day contribute liberally for the support of Christ among the heathen. It was stated in the report that the heathen did not perish of necessity, and the question was asked, should they perish by neglect? It is for this meeting to give the reply.

The REV. R. MOFFAT then rose and said; I was glad that reference was made to Africa, because I thought that the whole energies of this large meeting were carried away to India. I do admire every missionary pleading hard for his own country [cheers]. I remember hearing that Dr Haweis said no spot was so lovely as the South Sea Islands. Dr Bogue only knew Africa because it was in the map; India was all in all to him, and he gave a very good reason for it. A wise angler, he said, always threw in his line where there were the most fish [laughter]. Good old Johnny Campbell, with whom I have traveled thousands of miles in the interior of Africa, thought there was no place like Africa, and he also gave a very good reason for it, that is, that wise anglers always cast in the line where the fish bite most freely [loud cheers]. The most sanguine expectations of the friends of Africa have been realised in the southern part of that vast and hitherto unexplored country. When we see the degraded Hottentots, that one would scarcely have touched with a pair of tongs—raised from filth, and misery, and degradation, and become clothed, and in their right mind, and made only a little lower than the angels of God, our anticipations are fully realised (cheers). Again, if we look to the bold and manly Caffre, wielding the javelin in the presence of English officers, and daring the arm of England to wrest them from their native place, or drive them to the impenetrable jungles, or expel them from their strongholds in the Amatola mountains, we see him bend before the sceptre of the Prince of peace, and exchange the war-song for the anthem of praise to the Redeemer who subdued them by his word, and poured out upon them the Spirit of his grace. When we look into the interior of the country, scenes present themselves, enough to break your hearts, and to call forth your deepest sympathy. Men are to be found there who have gloried from time immemorial in garments rolled in blood. But they have laid down the weapons of their warfare, not only against man, but against God. I have seen men who had sworn vengeance against each other, sitting together, praying together, rejoicing together in hope of the glory of God (cheers). Is not this enough to encourage us with regard to Africa? Africa is often spoken of as a den of wild beasts—a cage of unclean birds. The poor unfortunate inhabitants have been libeled, as though they were incapable of estimating the blessings which British power is willing to confer upon them. It was said that they had not certain protuberances or bumps, by which they could comprehend the great doctrines of redemption (laughter). We have, however, among them not only believers, but "living epistles of Christ, known and read of all men," who are not only showing forth the power of the everlasting gospel, but are proclaiming to others what they have experienced in their own souls. When we see that grace now triumphs where formerly there was nothing but revenge—when we see men take the Word of God in their hands, bend their knees, and exclaim with thankfulness, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed on us, that we should be called the sons of God,"—when we see tastes, almost as inveterate as the castes of India, changed—when we see these people, who would rather have died than allowed any encroachment on their customs—when we see men, instead of lubricating their bodies with fat, and their heads with butter, and besmearing themselves over with red and yellow ochre, walking in the light of the everlasting gospel—instead of living in dark filthy hovels, now occupying comfortable residences, hung with pictures as beautiful in their eyes as the pictures in Hampton Court are in yours, I refer to bundles of candles, and other things unknown till the gospel was introduced—when we see these changes effected, who can doubt, that the African is susceptible of the highest moral cultivation? But I would call your attention to the brightening prospects of the interior of the country, arising from the employment of native agency, and the introduction of works printed in their own language. Blessed be God, the scriptures have been translated and printed, and are now being distributed among thousands who have learned to read in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. The people who dared Jehovah to make one Bechuana bow his knee, now weep as they read the message of his love. When we look at the means now afforded for enlightening the interior of Africa, let us take cou-

rage. Though the expedition to the Niger, which was intended to scatter the blessings of peace and plenty into the interior regions of Africa, has partially failed, yet it has taught us a salutary lesson. We are convinced it is nothing but the everlasting gospel, the mighty lever from Heaven, that is able to raise Africa from her present degraded state. But I am going again to depart far hence among the Gentiles. I returned to England, some two or three years ago; but I cannot fix the time exactly, for I have not had time to calculate it (laughter). The directors have taken good care that I should not have a leisure week or a leisure day; but it has afforded me indescribable pleasure to go in and out among the many of our congregations. If I had come from the snows of the North, I could say, that I had come from the regions of everlasting cold, to be warmed with Christian love (cheers). I have, however, come from the glowing plains of Africa, to be watered with the dews of that love (cheers). I never can forget all the kindness I have received, and all the sympathies with which, from time to time, you have heard me. I have been enabled, since I came to England, to publish, through the munificence of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a large edition of the New Testament and book of Psalms. They have been sent forth to those who are thirsting for knowledge (cheers). By the kindness of a number of the society of Friends, 6,000 copies of the scripture lessons, used in the Borough school, have also been prepared and sent forth to that people (cheers). I would just say farewell to all, I might say, a long farewell. It is not likely, indeed, that I shall ever behold you all again: I do not at all expect it, till we meet before the great white throne, where the book shall be opened, and we shall have to give an account of all that we have done for the heathen, either in Africa or in India. Let me entreat you to pray for us. It has afforded me unspeakable consolation on innumerable occasions, when we have been exposed to extreme danger (hear, hear). I hope to be exposed to it again; for I have no idea that my warfare is ended; I have no idea that my shield is laid aside, or that I have laid down my spear. I intend, if spared, to proceed still farther into those dark and dreary regions, on which the cloud of darkness broods, but which, I anticipate, ere long to see chased away by the rays of the Sun of Righteousness; to witness the blood-stained banner of the Cross waving in those interior regions, which are inviting us to proclaim the message of peace. I anticipate dangers, perhaps more than dangers; but I repeat what I have said before, "Woe be unto me, if I go not again, and preach the gospel to the heathen" (hear, hear). Some of you will have an opportunity of seeing, ere long, what the Bechuana mission has been, and what the missionary has had to go through, in order to erect the standard of the Cross in that country. When I have heard the lions roar, and have been without a refuge, without a tree, without a light, it has afforded me consolation to know, that there were many thousands whose voice was ascending to the throne of God for their missionaries. Remember us still; we need your prayers; not only in times of adversity and trial, but still more in times of prosperity. I would say, lastly, let us keep in view our high calling; let us not forget our own souls. Let us ever remember, that the prize is before us, and it is for you to win it as well as for me. You can be missionaries, as well as I; you remain at home, and I go abroad; but let us look forward to that period, when we shall hear the welcome, "Well done." Oh what an inexpressible delight it will be to mingle with Hindoos, with South Sea islanders, and Africans, in that ransomed band, to sing the praises of the Redeemer, for ever and ever (loud cheers). Mr M. concluded by moving the thanks of the meeting to the chairman. F. E. SMITH, Esq., seconded the resolution, which was put and carried by acclamation. The meeting then adjourned until the evening, to be continued at Finsbury chapel. [We shall give the proceedings in our next.]

The annual meeting of the Sunday School Union was held at Exeter hall, on Thursday, the 5th instant. The large hall was densely crowded by a highly respectable auditory. The chair was taken by Capt. Moorsom, R.N. The report was read by the Secretary. It commenced by referring to the society's operations in Denmark, Belgium, France, Corfu, Sierra Leone, Central India, Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, West Indies, America, and Canada. With respect to the home proceedings, it stated, that 22 grants had been made during the last year, in aid of the expense of erecting or fitting up school rooms, amounting to £403, making the total number of grants, up to the present time, 211, amounting to £4,819. These grants had been made, without any respect to denominational distinctions. Three new local unions had been formed; viz., the South West Kent, Dudley and Stockton. The number of Sunday school lending libraries granted had been 126, making a total of 859. The Union had thus sustained a pecuniary loss of £310 5s. The schools assisted contained 13,806 children, of whom 6,856 were able to read the scriptures. Grants of money amounting to £110, and of books to the sum of £261 16s. 6d., had been made in order to promote the extension of Sunday schools in this and other countries. There were within a circle of 5 miles from the general post office, 487 schools, 9,507 teachers, 89,139 scholars. Being an increase of 6 schools, 596 teachers, and 2,808 scholars. The sales of publications at the depository amounted to £9,554 1s. 5*1/2*d., being an increase of £413 17s. 7d. on the sales of the previous year. Donations had been received to the amount of £344. The committee desired especial attention to the effort made by the teachers and friends of Sunday schools connected with the West London auxiliary, who had presented £100 to the Union, an example which they trusted would be followed, not only by the other London auxiliary unions, but also by the country unions. After payment of the grants which had been already made, there would be a deficiency of £219 2s. 7*1/2*d., which must be supplied by the friends of religious instruction, or the assistance of the Union be withheld from those who stood in need of it. The present number of subscribers to the library and reading room was 150. The Rev. R. Young moved the adoption of the report which was seconded by the Rev. Dr Morison. The meeting was subsequently addressed by the Rev. Dr Tyng, from America, the Rev. W. Knibb, the Rev. J. Burnet, and the Rev. C. Stovell.

The annual meeting of the Congregational Union was commenced on Tuesday, May 3, the Rev. Dr Leifchild in the chair. The Welsh connexion of independents was received into the Union; after which the Rev. A. Wells read the report, which was adopted. Brief reports were presented from the committees of the Irish Evangelical society, the Home Missionary society, and the Colonial Missionary society. Addresses were then delivered by the Rev. Dr Russell on behalf of the Scottish Congregational union; by the Rev. S. Roberts on behalf of the Congregational union of North Wales; by the Rev. J. Roaf as the representative of the Congregational churches in West Canada; and by the Rev. J. Nisbett as the representative of the Congregational churches in Van Dieman's land. The Rev. Dr Burder read the annual letter to the Congregational churches. After some discussion it was adopted, with the understanding that it should be referred back

to the committee for the purpose of undergoing certain alterations which had been suggested. The meeting then adjourned.

The Rev. T. Willis, of Horton College, Bradford, has accepted the invitation to the pastoral office of the Baptist church at Pontesbury in Shropshire. Mr. W. commenced his labours about a month ago, under the most favorable auspices.

## TRADE AND COMMERCE.

## LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, May 13.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 Wm IV., cap. 85:—

Independent meeting-house, Kingswood, Wiltshire. A. Jackson, superintendent registrar.

Bethel chapel, Maidstone. W. N. Ottaway, superintendent registrar.

## BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SPOOR, AMOR, sen., and AMOR, jun., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, builders.

## BANKRUPTS.

ALLEN, JAMES HODGKINS, Porth Cawl, Glamorganshire, timber merchant, to surrender June 1, 24: solicitors, Messrs Holmes and Co., New inn, London, and Mr A. Cuthbertson, Neath.

BRIDGER, CHARLES, late of Hampton, Middlesex, mealman, May 20, June 24: solicitor, Mr Heath, 2, Charlotte row, Mansion house.

BUCHANAN, WILLIAM COX, Dursley, Gloucestershire, money scrivener, May 24, June 24: solicitors, Mr Pope, 12, Gray's inn square, London, and Messrs Bishop and Wells, Dursley.

HEADLAND, WILLIAM, Louth, Lincolnshire, tailor, May 27, June 24: solicitors, Messrs Lightfoot and Earnshaw, Hull, and Messrs Walmsley and Co., 43, Chancery lane, London.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, leather dealer, May 27, June 24: solicitors, Messrs Litchfield and Owen, 89, Chancery lane, London, and Mr H. Bloxam, Shrewsbury.

LEE, RICHARD EGAN, Craven buildings, Drury lane, printer, May 24, June 24: solicitor, Mr Cross, Surrey street, Strand.

O'CHTERLONY, THOMAS, now or late of Threadneedle street, City, merchant, May 20, June 24: solicitors, Messrs Turner and Hensman, 8, Basing lane.

RUSSELL, ROBERT, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey, upholsterer, May 26, June 24: solicitor, Mr Pile, 93, Hatton garden.

SMITH, JOHN ROBSON, Monkwearmouth shore, Durham, ship owner, May 25, June 24: solicitor, Mr Nicholls, 8, Cook's court, Lincoln's inn, London, and Mr R. Thompson, Dur. am.

STANSBURY, JOSEPH, St Matthew's place, Hackney road, bookseller, May 24, June 24: solicitor, Mr Ashley, Shorelatch.

TAYLOR, EDWARD CHARLES, Albany street, Regent's park, fishmonger, May 20, June 24: solicitor, Mr Dimes, Bread street, Cheapside.

WINTER, THOMAS JOHN, Tottenham court road, bill broker, May 26, June 24: solicitor, Mr Hodgkinson, Burton crescent.

YOUNG, JOHN, New cut, Lambeth, victualer, May 20, June 24: solicitors, Messrs Druce and Sons, Billiter square.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

FRASER, WILLIAM, and MACRAE, HUGH, Fortrose, merchants, May 20, June 11.

KAY, JAMES, Ochiltree, Ayrshire, wright, May 16, June 8.

KER, JAMES, and JOHNSTON, HENRY, of Leith, CRAIG, GEORGE, of Galashiels, bankers, and BISSETT, JOHN, solicitor in the Supreme courts of Scotland, May 17, June 7.

WEBSTER, JAMES, Dundee, merchant, May 20, June 10.

## DIVIDENDS.

JUNE 6, Miller, late of Watling street, City, tallow chandler—June 6, Speare, 21, Fleet street, City, laceman and warehouseman—June 3, Schenck, 10, Addle street, City, merchant—June 1, Wightman, Paternoster row, City, bookseller—June 4, Morris, jun., Wandsworth, Surrey, grocer—June 4, Sharman, Barge yard, Bucklersbury, City, shoe factor—June 4, Oxborrow, 5, Brighton place, Hackney road, linen draper—June 4, Cradock, now of Darlington, Durham, patent round and flat rope manufacturer, but late of Stockton-on-Tees, patent sail cloth and rope manufacturer—June 3, Crowther and Butterworth, Leeds, black beer brewers—June 6, Wood, Burslem, Staffordshire, and Manchester, banker—June 4, Payne, Liverpool, drayalter—June 7, Porter, Honiton, Devonshire, victualer—June 3, Stainthorpe, Hexham, Northumberland, common brewer and maltster—May 27, Hill, Wortwell, Norfolk, miller and farmer—June 4, Hepper, Liverpool, hotel keeper—June 4, Langmead, Teignmouth, banker.

## CERTIFICATES—JUNE 3.

Ware, Tiverton, Devonshire, tanner—Partridge, Birmingham, victualer—Walker, Leeds, woolstapler and cloth manufacturer—Canning, Wood street, Cheapside, Scotch warehouseman—Jennings, Gloucester, tailor and draper—Gray, Leeds, woolstapler.

## PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Dean and Weston, Dover, patent sise manufacturers—R. and W. N. Alger, Kensington, chemists—Maddocks and Wardle, Priestfields, Staffordshire, bailiffs—J. and W. E. Siddall, Manchester, fustian manufacturers—Holmes, of Leeds, and Richardson, late of Lincoln, since of Leeds, but now of Manchester, wine dealers—Vandergucht and Turtill, Liverpool, tailors—Pratt and Pearce, Exeter, soda water manufacturers—J. and W. Gardner, Coventry, ribbon manufacturers—Smith and Son, Coventry, grocers—Thomson and Turner, Liverpool, railway contractors—Frankcom and Mowat, Bath, clock makers—Woodhead and Holland, Sheffield, common brewers—Knapp and Pearce, Coventry, printers—S. and G. Mitchell, Ilford, Essex, farmers—White and Co., owners of Whitwell colliery, Durham (so far as regards Kirk)—Tarn and Taw, Nos. 1 and 2, Addle street, City, carpet warehousemen—Chambers and Newton, Birmingham, cut nail manufacturers.

Tuesday, May 18.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

The Wesleyan chapel, Holt, Norfolk. Joseph Covell, superintendent registrar.

## INSOLVENTS.

BOWERS, CHARLES DENNIS, Cannon street, City, comb maker, May 17.

MILLS, JOHN, Manor street, Clapham, Surrey, shipowner, May 16.

QUESTED, SAMUEL, 77, Harrow road, Paddington, corn dealer, May 11.

## BANKRUPTS.

BARRAT, JAMES, Great Pulteney street, Golden square, builder, May 24, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Beaumont and Thompson, 19, Lincoln's inn fields.

CHAFFMAN, THOMAS, jun., Chenies street, Tottenham-court road, and Great George street, Euston square, dairyman, May 27, June 28: solicitor, Mr Williams, Alfred place, Bedford square.

DOCKRAY, JOHN, and PINDER, THOMAS, Leeds, machine makers, May 31, June 28: solicitors, Mr Edward Lambert, 4, Raymond buildings, Gray's inn, London, and Messrs Snowdon and Preston, Leeds.

DYER, HENRY CHARLES MORETON, Manchester, and New Broad street, merchant, June 6, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Adlington and Co., Bedford row, London, and Mr Morris, Manchester.

GILROY, WILLIAM, Birmingham, ironmonger, May 28, June 28: solicitors, Mr E. A. Chaplin, 3, Gray's inn square, London, and Mr Alexander Harrison, Birmingham.

GREENWELL, GEORGE, DEARBERG, JOHN BENJAMIN DAVID, and WHITEHALL, WILLIAM, Fore street, London, and Coventry, silk manufacturers, May 27, June 28: solicitor, Mr Alfred Jones, Sise lane.

HADDINHAM, DANIEL, Cambridge, linendraper, June 3, 28: solicitors, Mr Stephen Adcock, Cambridge, and Mr William Henry Ashurst, 137, Cheapside, London.

POLLOCK, JOHN, Liverpool, merchant, May 27, June 28: solicitors, Mr John Howard, Liverpool, and Messrs Jennings and Co., 4, Elm court, Temple, London.

PRATTEN, CHARLES, Bristol, boot and shoe maker, May 31, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Swain, Stephens, and Co., 6, Frederick place, Old Jewry, London, and Mr Charles Hassell, Bristol.

RENNY, THOMAS, and BROWN, WILLIAM, Liverpool, oil cloth manufacturers, May 27, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Adlington and Co., Bedford row, London, and Mr Atkinson, Liverpool.

SIMMONS, JOHN, late of Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, but now of Atherstone, Warwickshire, furnishing ironmonger, May 30, June 28: solicitor, Mr Delabere Robertson Blaine, 27, Lincoln's inn fields, London.

SMALLEY, JOHN, Duxberry mill, Lancashire, corn miller, June 8, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Alcock and Dixon, Burnley, and Messrs Craig and Jeyses, 4, Harpur street, Red Lion square, London.

TOMKIES, EDWARD and THOMAS, Shrewsbury and Manchester, fellmongers, May 31, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Pinniger and Westmacott, 1, Gray's inn square, London.

WRIGLEY, BEN, Horset, Yorkshire, woollen cloth manufacturer, June 7, 28: solicitors, Mr John Spinks, jun., 18, John street, Bedford row, London, and Mr Richard Redfern, Oldham.

WOOD, JOSEPH, and HOWARD, JOHN, now or late of Leeds, and of Belfast, merchants, May 31, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Payne and Co., Leeds, and Mr Charles Wilson, 6, Southampton street, Bloomsbury, London.

WILBY, EDMUND, Ossett, Yorkshire, cloth manufacturer, May 24, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Battye and Co., 20, Chancery lane, London, and Mr William Stewart, Horbury, near Wakefield.

WILKS, WILLIAM, Bengewirth, Worcestershire, coal merchant, May 25, June 28: solicitors, Messrs Blower and Vizard, 61, Lincoln's inn fields, London, and Messrs Workman, Evesham.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

CHARLES KENNEDY, Edinburgh, late of Hallcross house, Fisherrow, surgeon, May 23, June 13.

## DIVIDENDS.

JUNE 9, Stone, Belle Sauvage yard, Ludgate hill, City, maker of playing cards—June 9, Sanders, Manor place, King's road, Chelsea, baker—June 11, Clare, Preston, Lancashire, watch maker—June 7, C. and S. Harrop, Doberross, Yorkshire, clothiers—May 25, Dunn, Southampton, merchant—June 28, Verity, jun., now or late of Birkenshaw, Yorkshire, worsted manufacturer—June 28, L., L., and S. H. Knowles, now or late of Gomereal, Yorkshire, merchants—June 11, Wilson, Toxteth park, Lancashire, licensed victualler—June 14, Dawes, Drayton in Hales, Salop, mercer—June 11, Brown, Manchester, stuff manufacturer—June 10, Gray and Co., London and Liverpool—June 10, Protheroe, jun., Bristol, iron merchant—June 6, Snowdon, North Shields, Northumberland, grocer—June 10, Chadwick, Heywood, Lancashire, cotton spinner.

## CERTIFICATES—JUNE 7.

Phelps, late of Newport, Monmouthshire, coal merchant—Marshall, Bescott hall, and Wednesbury, Staffordshire, iron merchant—Wilcock, Lower Allethwaite, Lancashire, banker—Biggs, Brewer street, Golden square, carpenter—Sperling, Halstead Essex, scrivener—Parker, Hockley, Nottinghamshire, grocer—Anderson and Garrow, Liverpool, merchants.

## PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Pearce and Plowman, Chelsea, Buckinghamshire, timber-dealers—Warren and Adams, Longton, Staffordshire Potteries, china manufacturers—Minshall and Middlemiss, Manchester, commission agents and warehousemen—Pottevin and Co., Thomas street, Whitechapel road, Patent Disinfected Manure Company—Wynne and Co., Shrewsbury, Shropshire, surgeons—S. and H. Jewel, Tregony, Cornwall, surgeons—Melling and Co., late of Rainhill, Lancashire, ironfounders (so far as regards J. Mciling, jun.)—Cassarini and Soldi, 7, Windsor place, Southwark bridge road, importers of French shag and trimming—Mills and Darch, Northumberland wharf, Blackwall, coal merchants—T. B. and T. Herring, Aldersgate street, City, chemists and wholesale druggists—Wilson and Co., Lindley, Yorkshire, cloth finishers (so far as regards H. Wilson)—Puttock and Hill, Epsom, Surrey, solicitors—Vennin and Co., Old Jewry, City, and of the Cape of Good Hope, merchants (so far as regards W. A. Vennin)—Stiles and Franklin, of the Golden Lion public house, Gravel lane, Southwark—T. and C. Rotherham, Coventry, milliners—Roberts and Hopkinson, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, fancy woollen cloth manufacturers—Williams and Co., Liverpool, iron merchants (so far as regards W. Douglas)—Kiteley and Fawcett, Kidderminster, Worcestershire, carpet and rug manufacturers—Throup and Bumby, Riddlesden, Yorkshire, graziers and warehousemen—Beardsall and Webster, Nottingham, pawnbrokers—Heywood and Darbshire, Bolton-le-Moors, cotton manufacturers—Hulda and Co., Lamb's conduit street, lace dealers—J. and E. Ramsbotham, of Lostock, Bolton-le-Moors, cotton spinners and manufacturers—Atkinson and Garforth, Midgeley, Yorkshire, worsted stuff manufacturers—Nicholson and Co., Monte Video and Buenos Ayres (so far as regards H. Sparks)—Rider and Johnson, Newport, Isle of Wight, linen drapers—Goodier and Co., Manchester, calenderers and packers (so far as regards E. Goodier).

## BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols .....	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2
Ditto for Account .....	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2
3 per cents. Reduced .....	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2
3 1/2 per cents. Reduced .....	99 1/2	99 1/2	99 1/2	99 1/2	99 1/2	99 1/2
New 3 1/2 per cent. .....	100 1/2	101	100 1/2	100 1/2	100 1/2	100 1/2
Long Annuities .....	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2
Bank Stock .....	168	168	168	167 1/2	167 1/2	167 1/2
India Stock .....	250	249 1/2	249 1/2	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills .....	40 pm	39 pm	39 pm	40 pm	39 pm	21 pm
India Bonds, 3 percent.....	19 pm	19 pm	20 pm	21 pm	21 pm	21 pm

## MARKETS.

## GRAIN, MARK LANE, May 16.

There was but a moderate supply of wheat. The best was cleared off early at 1s. to 2s. per qr advance, but there was very little improvement in the value of free foreign Barley nominally the same, with a heavy trade.

Rather more doing in the oat trade at full prices, and some bonded cargoes have changed hands.

In beans and peas no alteration.

	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.		
Wheat, Red New 50 to 58	45	to	53	Beans, Old.....	34	to	37	
Fine .....	58 ..	68	Pale .....	53 ..	59	Harrow .....	29 ..	33
White .....	50 ..	60	Peas, Hog .....	27 ..	33	Oats, Feed.....	18 ..	20
Fine								

In the press, and shortly will be published,  
**THE NONCONFORMIST'S**  
SKETCH BOOK:  
A Series of Views, classified in Four Groups, of a  
State Church and its Attendant Evils. Originally  
published in the *Nonconformist* newspaper, under the  
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tirely with new materials, and their personal attention  
given to every department, they trust they shall be able  
to give satisfaction to all those who may favour them  
with their commands.

**GENERAL HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.**  
Established at Bristol, A. D. 1838, for the purpose of sending  
Missionaries into all the large Towns in Great  
Britain and Ireland.

**THE above SOCIETY** will hold their  
THIRD ANNIVERSARY MEETING at EXETER  
HALL on FRIDAY EVENING, May 20th, when AR-  
LEY PELLATT, Esq., will take the Chair precisely at  
Half-past Six o'clock.

N.B. The G. H. M. Society, having engaged for a term  
of years the Chapel situate in and known by the name  
of Cole Street Chapel (Borough), will open the same for  
divine worship on SUNDAY, May 29, when Three Ser-  
mons will be preached: one in the Morning, by the Rev.  
JOSEPH CHISLETT; in the Afternoon, by the Rev. S.  
JONES; and in the Evening, by the Rev. S. SLEEP, a  
Deputation from the Parent Society. A Collection will  
be made at the close of each Service in aid of the Funds  
of the Society. The Services will commence at Half-  
past Ten, Half-past Two, and Six o'clock.

**GENERAL HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.**  
IT is not my intention to attend the Meet-  
ing of the above Society, as advertised for Friday  
next, at Exeter Hall. APSLEY PELLATT,  
May 17, 1842. Falcon Glass Works.

**COMPLETE SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE.**  
Just published,

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may be had of all Booksellers.

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of  
HISTORY.  
By

W. TORRENS McCULLAGH,  
Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and of the  
Archaeological Society of Ireland.  
London: LONGMAN, BROWN, and CO.  
Dublin: S. J. MACHEN.

**JAMAICA.**

In a few days will be published,  
**THE SPEECH** of the Rev. WILLIAM  
KNIBB, delivered at Exeter Hall, April 28th, 1842,  
before the Baptist Missionary Society. To which is  
prefixed a LETTER to W. B. GURNEY, Esq., with  
much additional information. Price 1s.

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neral Meeting of the Members of the NATIONAL  
ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE, held in Newall's Build-  
ings, Manchester, Wednesday, May 11th, 1842. R. H.  
GREG, Esq., and afterwards W. RAWSON, Esq., in the  
Chair.

Moved by J. BRIGHT, Esq., and seconded by  
C. J. S. WALKER, Esq.—

"That the Report of the Council now read be received,  
approved, and adopted by this Meeting."

Moved by LAWRENCE HEYWORTH, Esq., and seconded  
T. BAZLEY, jun., Esq.—

"That it be urged upon the Council to lose no time in  
the completion of the division of the United Kingdom  
into registration districts, the location of the lecturers of  
the League in such districts, and the enrolment of all  
the friends of justice as members of the national body of  
repealers."

Moved by Mr Alderman BROOKS, and seconded by  
Rev. W. SHUTTLEWORTH—

"That the active and zealous co-operation of those mi-  
nisters of religion who stand pledged to assist in obtain-  
ing food for the famishing, as of all practical Christians,  
loving justice and hating oppression, be most earnestly  
besought in aid of such organisation of the empire as  
shall hereafter facilitate the approach of the people to the  
throne, and the full attainment of our righteous purpose  
by legal and constitutional means."

Moved by W. EVANS, Esq., and seconded by  
H. RAWSON, Esq.—

"That the Report of the Council and the Resolutions  
of this Meeting be advertised at the discretion of the  
Council."

R. H. GREG, W. RAWSON } Chairmen.

Moved by L. HEYWORTH, Esq., and seconded by  
W. EVANS, Esq.—

"That the respectful thanks of the Meeting be given  
to R. H. Greg, Esq., and W. Rawson, Esq., for their  
kindness in presiding this evening."

J. BROOKS.

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